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MISCELLANIES

OF THE

Philobiblon Society.

VOL. II.

Quia vero de Librorum amore principaliter disserit, placuit nobis, more veterum Latinorum, ipsum Græco vocabulo Philobiblon amabiliter nuncupare.

Richard de Bury.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM.

1855-6.

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The Impreſſion of the Contents of this Volume is limited to 100 *copies on laid paper.*

In conſequence of the inconvenience which may ariſe from the unequal bulk and miſcellaneous character of the Volumes iſſued, and to be iſſued, by the Philobiblon Society, poſſeſſors of them are requeſted to conſider the preſent arrangement of the Contents as proviſional, until ſuch time as the Editors ſhall ſee fit to group them into new Volumes, claſſified according to ſubjects, and furniſhed with new and uniform title-pages and tables.

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RULES.

1.

THE Philobiblon Society is compoſed of perſons intereſted in the hiſtory, collection, or peculiarities of Books. It conſiſts of a Patron and thirty-five Members. Its officers are a Preſident and two Joint-Secretaries.

2. The Preſident and Joint-Secretaries are annually elected at the Monthly Meeting in March. They are re-eligible.

3. Members ſhall be elected by ballot; two black balls ſhall exclude.

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The candidate ſhall be propoſed and ſeconded at the meeting previous to the election. If ſeveral candidates are propoſed, the Society ſhall decide by ballot which name is to be filled up firſt.

4. The Society will print, once or twice a year, as may be found practicable, a volume of Bibliographical Miſcellanies, which ſhall conſiſt of

Notices and Analyſes of Rare or Curious Books or Manuſcripts,—

Unpubliſhed Documents and Letters,—

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Typographical Curioſities, Illuminations, and Illuſtrations of Books, and Reſearches into the Connection of Literature with the Fine Arts,—

Information reſpecting the Value,

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Sales, and Publication of Rare Books, and of the Contents of Peculiar, Diſperſed, or hitherto Unnoticed Collections,—

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Abſtracts of Bibliographical Works Publiſhed or Unpubliſhed,—

Any matter eſpecially intereſting to the lovers and collectors of Books,—

And the Tranſactions of the Society.

5. Two copies of the Miſcellanies ſhall be printed on laid paper for the Patron and each Member of the Society. Theſe copies ſhall be ſigned by one of the Secretaries. Each contributor ſhall have three additional copies of his own contribution ſtruck off on laid paper. If he deſires to have any of theſe copies on vellum, tinted paper, or any other material,

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he may do ſo by arranging with the Printer for the additional expenſe. A certain number of copies, not exceeding fifty, of each contribution may be ſtruck off on wove paper for the uſe of the contributor; at his own coſt, if a Member of the Society, and at the expenſe of the Society, if he be not a Member, and ſhall have contributed any matter which the Secretaries have thought fit to inſert. Five copies ſhall be printed on laid paper for preſentation to the Britiſh Muſeum, the Univerſities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The Secretaries are the reſponſible editors of the Miſcellanies, and their deciſion on the admiſſion of articles is final.

6. A Subſcription of not leſs than One Pound and not more than Three

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Pounds per Annum ſhall be paid at the Meeting in March to one of the Secretaries, to defray the expenſes of the Miſcellanies and of Notices to the Society.

7. Each Member of the Society may from time to time print ſome original work or unpubliſhed MSS., or reprint ſome work which has become very rare in bibliography, hiſtory, the fine arts, or general literature, either at his own coſt or with the aid of the Society. Two copies of ſuch work ſhall be printed on laid paper, in the ſame ſize as the Miſcellanies, for the uſe of each Member, and five on common paper for preſentation to the Britiſh Muſeum, the Univerſities, and the Advocates' Library. The Member contributing the work may print eight additional copies on laid paper, vellum, tinted

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paper, or other material for his own uſe, and alſo one hundred copies on common paper, to be diſpoſed of in any way he thinks fit. Each copy on laid paper ſhall bear the name of the Member to whom it is appropriated, and ten copies on laid paper ſhall be preſented to the poſſeſſor of any unpubliſhed MS. or rare book ſo printed, who is not a Member of the Society. The ſubject of each work propoſed to be printed ſhall be announced in the Miſcellanies before the work goes to preſs.

8. The Officers may place the Society in correſpondence and connection with any Foreign Society of a ſimilar nature they may think fit, on the principle of a reciprocal interchange of works printed for the uſe of each Society, or on ſuch terms as ſhall mutually be agreed upon. For

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this purpoſe only a ſmall reſerve of copies of the Miſcellanies and of each work ſhall be printed, to remain in the hands of one of the Secretaries.

9. Such Members of the Society as may find it convenient will meet to breakfaſt together at the reſidence of the Member of the Society that may be agreed upon at the previous meeting, for the purpoſes of inſpection of books, election of Members, and tranſaction of the buſineſs of the Society. The Member at whoſe houſe the Meeting takes place, may invite three Foreigners who are intereſted in the objects of the Society, to meet the Members at breakfaſt. The Meetings will take place on the laſt Saturday in the month from February to July incluſive, and on other Saturdays that may occaſionally be appointed. The Secretaries will

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inform the Members where each ſucceſſive Meeting is to be held.

10. Three Members of the Society conſtitute a Quorum for the Tranſaction of buſineſs, and Nine a Quorum for altering the Rules of the Society.

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The Philobiblon Society.

1855-6.

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1855-6.

Preſident.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF AUMALE.

Honorary Secretaries.

THE HON. ROBERT CURZON.

WILLIAM STIRLING, M. P.

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Some Account of a rare Greek MS.

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Some Account of a rare Greek MS.

AT the requeſt of ſome members of the Philobiblon Society, I propoſe to give a ſhort account of a Greek Manuſcript in my poſſeſſion, which, although worthy of notice on account of its antiquity and peculiar form, is eſpecially intereſting from ſome diſcoveries which I have made reſpecting its paſt hiſtory.

The MS. in queſtion was purchaſed many years ago from the late much reſpected bookſeller, Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport Street, who had obtained it at a ſale, and could give me no information as to its former owners. It is a roll of parchment, meaſuring about thirteen

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feet three inches in length, by five inches in width; covered on both ſides with Greek writing, in the characters commonly uſed about the eleventh century, and contains what appears to be the ſervice of the Greek Church, viz. a ſelection of pſalms and prayers, with rubrical directions in red or gold letters, and two ſmall illuminations. The roll, which is ſlightly imperfect at one end, is contained in an ivory caſe.

The rarity of rolled manuſcripts in general, is well known. It was the earlieſt form of book-making. The ancients uſed ſkins, or leaves, which were ſewn together, rolled round a ſtick, and called 'Volumina.' All the MSS. diſcovered at Herculaneum were in this form, and, although the ſquare form was not unknown to the Romans, it does not appear to have come into general uſe until after the fall of the Roman Empire. The

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Greeks, however, continued the uſe of rolled MSS. for their church ſervice ſeveral centuries later, according to the teſtimony of Montfaucon, who writes thus:—

"Præter libros compactos, habent item "Græci κοντακια, contacia, quæ vulgariùs Ro- "tuli vocitantur. Eſt vero contacium brevis "baculus, ut plurimum palmæ longitudine, cui "hæret obvoluta miræ longitudinis charta "membranea, ex multis foliis conſequenter ag- "glutinatis confecta: ubi deſcriptæ ſunt ora- "tiones et officia ſacerdotibus recitanda cùm "ſacra adminiſtrant. Duo ſolùm vidi contacia, "aliud in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, aliud Romæ in "bibliothecâ R. R. P. P. S. Baſilii. * * * * "Sunt porro contacia ex utrâque folii parte de- "ſcripta; ita ut cum ad primæ paginæ finem "pervenerint, ab eâdem folii extremitate, ver- "tendo chartam, ſecundæ paginæ lectionem "ineant, pergantque donec ad baculum, unde "ab alterâ paginâ legere orſi ſunt, denuo recur- "rant."—*Palæographia Græca*, Lib. I. p. 33.

This manuſcript roll had been two or three years in my poſſeſſion, when, having occaſion, one day, to refer to a volume of Montfaucon's 'Biblio-

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'theca Bibliothecarum,' my attention was accidentally attracted to the following paſſage:—

La Bibliothèque de M. le Baron de Craſſier de Liege.

Deſcription d'un ancien rouleau ou Contacium, &c.

" Un volume ou rouleau long de 13 pieds, " et large d'environ 5 pouces de France. C'eſt " une eſpèce de Contacium, ou livre de prières, " en Grec, ancien de plus de mille ans; il con- " tient les pſeaumes 23, 26, et 115, pluſieurs " Oraiſons propres à la ſainte participation ou " Communion, une direction pour recevoir dé- " votement, et enſuite des prières. On y voit " deux anciennes miniatures qui repreſentent " le Patriarche adminiſtrant les Sacremens à " l'Imperatrice; il a dans les deux la Robe " toute blanche et la Chaſuble de même, mais " celle-ci eſt parſemée de Croix noires envi- " ronnées d'équerres en cette manière . La " Robe de la Princeſſe eſt rouge ſous un man- " teau de pourpre brodé d'or et de perles, tant " ſur le bord que ſur le devant, où ſont répre- " ſentés des Aiglons dans des ronds de pareille " broderie, et elle y eſt toujours debout la " couronne perlée en tête et les mains jointes " devant le Patriarche, lequel dans la première

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" eſt repreſenté aſſis tenant un livre ſous le bras
" gauche et béniſſant la Princeſſe avec la main
" droite, et derrière lui eſt une eſpèce de tour:
" dans l'autre il eſt debout, tournant le dos à
" un autel de couleur rouge, ſur le devant duquel
" ſe voit une croix et 4 équerres, comme deſſus,
" brodés en or, et audeſſus paroit une couver-
" ture bleue en forme de pavillon, ſoutenue de
" 4 colonnes blanches; le dit Patriarche paroit
" dans celle-ci tenir dans ſa gauche une eſpèce
" de vaſe d'or, et leve la main droite vers la
" Princeſſe approchante. Ces deux miniatures
" ont les vides garnis de caractères Grecs en
" rouge, qui peuvent ſans doute ſervir à l'ex-
" plication de ce qu'elles ſignifient, mais per-
" ſonne ne ſe trouve ici capable de le faire."—
Vol. II. p. 603.

The ſimilarity of the MS. here deſcribed with my own, in ſize, contents, &c., induced me to make a careful examination of the latter; and ſo completely did it coincide with the deſcription given, even to the minuteſt details of the two illuminations, that I could not doubt that the Craſſier MS. and mine were identical. Having ſatisfied myſelf of this

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fact, my curioſity was piqued to endeavour to decipher the red characters on the gold ground of the illuminations, which appeared to have baffled the ſkill of thoſe who had made the attempt in the time of Montfaucon; and having diſcovered that the ſame letters were inſcribed on each of the two illuminations, I eventually ſucceeded, by comparing one with the other, in reading the legend, which runs thus:—

Η ευσεβεςατ
Βασιλισσα
Ευδοκ' Η Δευκε Η

Here was, at once, a clue to the date of the MS., and the name of the royal lady whoſe portrait it contained; and who could be no other than the Empreſs Eudocia (ſurnamed Macrembolitiſſa), the wife of Conſtantine Ducas, Emperor of Conſtantinople, who reigned from A.D. 1059 to 1067,

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Δουλοπρεπωστηιχ
σοναὐθιςκλέπτ:-

Ἐνχαριστῶσοιφιλάνε·
ὅτιδιαπολλημφανδό
τηνταικαιμλκεσθυ
μίαρ·ημῶνχυκοιμω

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and who, at his death, retained poſſeſſion of the throne. This Empreſs was diſtinguiſhed in her day for learning, and a taſte for literature,—collected a fine library at great coſt, and was herſelf the authoreſs of a work entitled "Ionia," of which an unique MS. exiſts in the Imperial library at Paris. It is probable that my manuſcript, in which the Empreſs's features, as well as thoſe of the Patriarch (ο αγιος Ιωαννης) are portrayed with conſiderable care, was executed for her own uſe, or for that of the Imperial chapel; and, in the belief that a contemporary portrait of this learned princeſs may be an object of ſome intereſt, I have added a facſimile of a portion of the roll, including one of the illuminations.

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Note reſpecting the Craſſier Library.

Being deſirous of aſcertaining whether the valuable library which belonged to the Baron de Craffier, in the time of Montfaucon, ſtill exiſted, I made enquiries on the ſubject during a tour in Belgium three years ago, and then learnt that the books had been ſold by auction at Liege, about the middle of the laſt century, but that the family ſtill exiſted; the preſent Baron reſiding at Maeſtricht. As I viſited this city in the courſe of my tour, I obtained an introduction to that gentleman, by whom I was moſt courteouſly received, and was ſhown ſome of the family treaſures, which having eſcaped the general diſperſion in the laſt century, had deſcended to him. He ſtill poſſeſſed one of the two MSS. of the Goſpels (in Latin) deſcribed by Montfaucon, viz. a thick quarto, on vellum, of the early part of the tenth century, in a fine old binding of gilt copper, enriched with enamels and boſſes of cryſtal and agate; having in the centre a piece of carved ivory, repreſenting the crucifixion. The MS. is not in very good condition; it is cropped, and deficient in a few leaves. I alſo ſaw a magnificent T*au*, or head of a Greek paſtoral ſtaff, of ivory, elaborately carved in open work, repreſenting human figures, dragons and foliage, intricately intertwined, of the tenth century; and a conſider-

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able collection of gems and cameos, of which some were in beautiful cinque-cento mountings.

But the chief treasure of the old Craffier collection is now in the public library at Liege. It is a manuscript of the four gospels, in fine preservation, and in a superb old binding of ivory, enamel, &c., and is thus described by Montfaucon :—

"Textus 4 Evangeliorum scriptus anno "V.I.DCCC. decoratusque tabellâ eburneâ "cum hâc inscriptione ;

"'En ego Notkerus, peccati pondere pressus,
"'Ad te flecto genu, qui terres omnia nutu.'

"In medio tabellæ sculptus est ipse Notkerus "Episcopus Leodiensis orans genu flexus, te- "nensque manibus librum apertum, in superi- "ore autem parte apparet Salvator Mundi, inter "quatuor signa Evangelistarum, tabellam vero "circumdant 4 virtutes, ac flumina paradisi ter- "restris, ex vitreâ gemmâ, ornamentis coloratis "et deauratis distincta."—*Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, Vol. II.* p. 605.

WALTER SNEYD.

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Catalogue of the Books of Richard de Gravesend, Biſhop of London; 1303.

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CATALOGUE of the BOOKS of RICHARD DE GRAVESEND, *Biſhop of London.*

THE archives of St. Paul's, among other curious documents, contain a roll of the effects of all kinds, with the value of each ſeparate property, left by Richard de Graveſend, Biſhop of London. It gives the amount furniſhed by the executors of his will, for the probation of which it appears that 60*l.* was paid to the Court of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Richard de Graveſend, Archdeacon of Northampton, was conſecrated Biſhop of London (on the renunciation of Fulk Lovel) Auguſt 12, 1280. Edw. I. 9. He died at Fulham, December 9,

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1303 (*Godwin*, p. 242, *Le Neve Faſti.*) He founded a Carmelite monaſtery at Maldon.

This roll of his effects at his deceaſe, meaſures twenty-eight feet in length by about one foot in width. It is the full inventory of his plate, the goods of his chapel, his jewels, his robes, his bed-furniture, his carpets, his kitchen, his butlery, his horſes, his carts, his arms (a ſingle ſword), his wine, and his wardrobe (garderoba), which contained his books. Beſides this, the corn and ſtock on all and each of his manors and farms. The valuation of each article is attached. That of his books appears to have peculiar intereſt to a Society like that of the Philobiblon. Though there may be other Catalogues of books of prior date, this, I apprehend, is the earlieſt priced Catalogue known. After deducting certain books bequeathed as deſcribed

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below in the words of the executors, the value of the Library was very nearly 100*l.*—99*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* At that period, making allowance for the relative value of ſilver and for the price of commodities, the ſum may be multiplied by about 15 to bring it to its preſent value. The total value of the property ſcheduled in this inventory was towards 3000*l.* of the money of that period.

Books of RICHARD GRAVESEND in his *Garderoba*.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
1 Bible, in 13 volumes . .	10	0	0
1 Bible	4	0	0
1 Little Bible	1	0	0
1 Regiſtrum Jeronimi ſuper bibliam	1	0	0
1 Tractatus Bernardi ſuper cantica canticorum	1	0	0
1 Homeliæ Petri Ravanenſis .	0	10	0
1 Pſalterium Gloſſatum .	1	0	0
1 Pſalterium cum veteri gloſſâ .	0	5	0

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1	Pſalterium . . .	0	10	0
1	Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica Euſebii Cæſarienſis	0	13	4
1	Poſtilla ſuper Johannis Apocalips.	0	10	0
1	Omeliæ antiquæ . . .	0	5	0
1	Summa Driton . .	0	2	0
1	Vetus Pſalterium cum miraculis B. M. V.	0	3	0
1	Secunda pars ſummæ Alex. de Hales	0	10	0
1	Diſtinctiones Mauricii . .	0	13	4
1	Summa magni Willi de Altiſidor.	0	3	0
1	Paſtorale Gregorii . .	0	3	0
1	Epiſtol. Jeronimi . .	0	10	0
1	Omeliæ Gregorii et Beda .	0	10	0
1	Lectura fris (fratris) Willi de Alton. ſuper Matheum .	0	4	0
1	Omeliæ ſuper Evangelia .	0	4	0
1	Summa Johannis de deo de impugnatione libelli . .	0	3	0
1	Omeliæ Gregorii ſuper Evangelium . . .	0	5	0
1	Tractatus Jeronimi de laudibus et tranſitu B. Virginis .	0	5	0
1	Liber Auguſtini de fide et legibus	0	3	0
1	Antiquæ expoſitiones ſuper Apocalips.	0	2	0
1	Tractatus inter ſpiritum et animam et liber queſtionum .	0	3	0
1	Hiſtoria Scholaſtica . .	0	5	0
1	Liber de vita Hugonis quondam			

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	Lincolñ. Epis. et Liber *novum* de diverſis ſanctis . .	0	4	0
1	Zacarias ſuper Evangelia .	0	10	0
1	Plures tractatus et libelli de diverſis ſermonibus . .	1	10	6
1	Interpretationes cum concordantiis	0	6	8
1	Liber parvus concordant. .	0	3	0
1	Liber concordant. . .	4	0	0
1	Epiſtolæ Pauli gloſſatæ .	1	6	8
1	Compilatio magiſtralis de diverſis auctoritatibus ſuper Bibliam .	0	5	0
1	Sermones Gilberti de Jornaſ ad omnem ſtatum .	0	10	0
1	Sermones dominicales . .	0	3	0
1	Diſtinctiones ſuper Bibliam	0	6	8
1	Summa Driton . . .	0	10	0
1	Tractatus fris Derthi (*qu.*) de proprietatibus rerum . .	0	10	0
1	Tractatus Iſidori Abrantian Epi	0	6	8
1	Diſtinctiones novæ ſuper Bibliam	0	6	8
1	Paſtorale Gregorii . .	0	2	0
1	Legenda ſanctorum . .	1	0	0
1	XIIIJ. parvi libri de ſermonibus	2	17	0
1	I. paṽ decretorum . .	6	13	4
1	Alia decreta	6	13	4
1	Decretales gloſſatæ . .	6	13	4
1	Aliæ decretales veteres . .	2	0	0
1	Summa Oſtienſis in ij. volum.	13	6	8
1	I. Paṽ. decretorum . .	5	0	0
1	Summa Innocentii . . .	2	13	4

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1	Textus ſexti libri decretorum	0	3	0
1	Summa Gaufredi ſuper Jure Canonico	0	6	8
1	Caſus decretorum cum reportorio Martiniani . .	1	6	8
1	Caſus decretorum . .	0	6	8
1	Summa Johannis Ferentini	1	0	0
1	Summa Ranfredi ſuper Jure Canonico cum aliis duobus parvis ſummulis . . .	0	13	4
1	Tractatus cujuſdam fris prædicatoris ſuper decret̃ .	0	5	0
1	Speculum judiciale et reportoĩ ejuſdem . . .	3	6	8
1	Corpus juris civilis in v. volum.	20	0	0
1	Libellus inſtructionum .	0	4	0
1	Liber Avicennæ . .	5	0	0
1	Liber naturalis . . .	0	3	0
1	Collectarium cum graduali	0	10	0
1	Evangelium cum graduali .	0	10	0
68	*Summa* . .	£116	14	6

Inde legati.—Liberaℓ ex legaℓ. 1 Biblia in xiij. voluminibus pretii x. l magiſtro Stephano de Graveſend. (et i. Paŕ. decretorum pret. vi. xiij. iv. Magiſtro R. de Newport Archid. Midd. ex legato ut patet in teſtamento.

Et ꝑtunt executores ſibi allocari de libro naturali dic. pretii donaℓ de ſuperſcriptis cuidam

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pauperi ſcholari pro anima defuncti ſumma petitionis et allocationis iij. o. et ſic remanſit de claro $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ xix. li. xviij. 1. 11 d. de quibus habent executores reſpondere.

£	s.	d.
99	18	2
10	0	0
6	13	4
0	3	0
£116	14	6

Both Newport and Stephen Graveſend were afterwards Biſhops of London. Newport, 1317; Stephen Graveſend, 1318 to 1338.

I ſubjoin the value of ſome of the other effects, and the price of corn at that time.

	£	s.	d.
Vaſa argentea . . .	214	13	11
Ornaments of the Chapel .	184	18	8
Jocalia	6	3	7
Robæ	34	2	6
Lectualia	15	4	8
Tapetæ	12	18	10
Equi 27	49	13	8

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Wheat	. .	4*s.* 0*d.* *per quarter.*
Barley	. .	3*s.* 5*d.* „
Peaſe	. . .	2*s.* 6*d.* „
Oats	. . .	2*s.* 6*d.* „

H. H. MILMAN.

Deanery, St. Paul's.

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Some Account of

THE FIRST ENGLISH BIBLE.

By BERIAH BOTFIELD,

M.A. F.R.S.

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Some Account of
The First English Bible.

THE *Bible* in Engliſh, by *Myles Coverdale*, without name of place or printer, 1535, folio. *The firſt Edition of the Sacred Scriptures in the Engliſh tongue*, ſuppoſed to have been printed in the houſe of *Chriſtopher Froſchover*, at Zurich; but more probably by Chriſtian Egenolph, at Frankfort; the dedication and the addreſs to the Chriſtian reader being ſubſequently added by a London printer. The volume itſelf is printed in the uſual ſquare Secretary Gothic type of Theological Books executed abroad at this period, the letter being

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angular Swiſs or German. The preliminary pieces are printed in the common black letter of the fifteenth century, and were probably added after the arrival of the volume in England. This precious tome conſiſts of 568 leaves, excluſive of thoſe ſupernumerary leaves containing variations chiefly of pagination, which ſeem to exiſt only in the perfect copy depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum. The woodcuts are 112 in number, excluſive of thoſe in which the ſeveral titles are encadred, in which ſome of them are however introduced, and many are as uſual repeated: *e. g.* the Tabernacle, fo. xli. recto, occurs again on fo. lvi. rev. of Pt. I. Theſe Illuſtrations are attributed to *Hans Sebald Beham*, to whom ſeveral works of that period are indebted for ſimilar ornaments.[1] This work is printed

[1] See the Bibliographical Decameron, I. 169—172, where ſome facſimiles of them are given by Dr. Dibdin.

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in double columns, each containing fifty-ſeven lines in a full page. The running titles are in the Gothic, and the marginal references in the Roman character. The commencement of each Chapter is diſtinguiſhed by a flowing text capital, of which a good ſpecimen is ſeen in the beginning of Geneſis, though the heads of the books are more frequently marked by a woodcut initial of foreign execution, very much ſuperior to the two contained in the prefatory matter. The paragraphs are alſo indicated by Gothic letters in the margin. The leaves of each part of the Bible are regularly numbered on the recto of each folio; and each part has alſo a ſeparate ſet of ſignatures. The epiſtle and addreſs have ſignatures only, with the running title and marginal reference in the black letter, with which the Table of Contents immediately following theſe preliminary pieces is alſo printed.

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The title which appears on the recto of the firſt leaf of this Bible is ſurrounded by ſix compartments; thoſe at the top and bottom being of the whole width of the page; the former repreſenting original ſin, with the label reverſed, and the Reſurrection of our Saviour; the latter, the preſentation of 'the Book,' by ſome lords ſpiritual and temporal, to Henry VIII. on his throne, having a figure of St. Paul on the right, and of David on the left. The four intermediate compartments on the left of the title repreſent Moſes receiving the tables, and Aaron reading the law to the people; thoſe on the right relate to our Saviour ſaying to his diſciples, "Go ye into all the worlde, preach the Goſpell," and St. Peter preaching at Jeruſalem on Whit Sunday. The title itſelf, in the centre of the page, is as follows:

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" BIBLIA "

The Bible, that
is, the holy Scripture of the
Old and New Teſtament, faith-
fully and truly tranſlated out
of Douche and Latyn
in to Engliſhe.
" M. D. XXXV. "

S. Paul II. Tessa III.

Praie for us, that the word of God maie have fre paſſage, and be glorified, &c.

S. Paul. Col. II.

Let the worde of Chriſt dwell in you plen teouſly in all wyſdome, &c.

Josue I.

Let not the boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyſe thyſelfe therin daye and nighte, &c.

Upon the reverſe of this leaf are enumerated in the ſecretary Gothic type:

" The bokes of the whole Bible, how they are named in Englyſh and Latyn, how longe they are wrytten in the allegacions, how many chapters every boke hath, and in what leafe every one begynneth."

Then follow five pages of black

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letter, containing: "An Epiſtle unto the Kynge's Hyghneſſe," which commences thus:

"Unto the moſt victorious Prynce"
and our moſt gracyous ſoveraigne Lorde, kynge
Henry the eyght, kynge of Englonde and of
Fraunce, lorde of Irlonde, etc.
Defendour of the Fayth, and under God
the chefe and ſuppreme
heade of the
"Church of Englonde."

"¶ The right & juſt adminiſtracyon of the lawes that God gave unto Moſes and unto Joſua: the teſtimonye of faythfulneſs that God gave of David: the plenteous abundaunce of wyſdome that God gave unto Salomon: the lucky and proſperous age with the multiplicacyon of ſede whiche God gave unto Abraham and Sara his wyfe, be gevē unto you moſt gracyous Prynce, with your deareſt juſt wyfe and moſt vertuous Prynceſſe, Quene Anne,[s] Ameh."

---

[s] The preamble of this dedication is extremely important, as the variation therein affords the cleareſt evidence of the time when the Sacred Scriptures were firſt promulgated under royal ſanction in England: inaſmuch as the firſt copies which came from the preſs in October, 1535, were dedicated to the reigning

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Beneath are 38 lines (+ ii) a full page containing 54, and the Epiſtle itſelf colophoniſed in the 38th line of the 5th page + iiii, at the corner of which appears this ſubſcription:

" Youre graces humble ſubjecte and daylye oratour,
Myles Coverdale."

On the reverſe of the ſame leaf

Queen Conſort Anne Boleyn; but this Princeſs ſoon afterwards declining in court favour, Coverdale ſeems to have waited till the tide of fortune turned againſt her, and upon the marriage of Henry VIII. on the 20th of May, 1536, with the Lady Jane Seymour, who was thought to favour the Reformation, altered the preamble of the dedication in the remaining copies to " your deareſt juſt wife Jane," in honour of the new Queen. Accordingly we find in the copy at Sion College, and in Lord Spencer's, " Jane," in the dedication. In the Muſeum copy Anne has been altered into Jane. Lambeth Library has a copy with each; but thoſe of Dr. Coombe, and at All Souls' College, Oxford, and many others have neither, wanting that page. The Bodleian copy, Lord Jerſey's, Mr. Lea Wilſon's, and that in Glouceſter Ca-

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commences in the ſame old Engliſh black letter:

"A Prologue."
"Myles Coverdale unto the Chriſtian Reader,"

occupying 6 pages, a full page containing 54 lines, and ending at the 34th line of the 6th with the word, "Amen."

On the reverſe of this leaf commences a liſt of:

"The Bokes of the hole Byble," &c.

of which the firſt three parts and the Prophets are enumerated below this title as before, but the Books of the Apocrypha and the New Teſtament are added on the following leaf in

thedral, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Mr. Botfield's have the original dedication to Queen Anne, and theſe were of courſe among the very firſt imported into England. Theſe variations in the Dedication ſeem to have induced Herbert to aſſert that "there were two editions, but with little variations;" "an obſervation," adds Dibdin, "which required ſome evidence in ſupport of it."

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the ſame black letter. On the reverſe of this leaf we find in the lower caſe ſecretary Gothic, the Contents of "the firſt boke of Moſes called Geneſis," in two columns. On the recto of the following leaf, fo. i. ſign. a. The ſacred text, preceded by ſix woodcuts repreſenting the worke of each of the ſix days of the Creation, commences with "the firſt Boke of Moſes, called Geneſis:"

The firſt Chapter.

4 Eſd. 6 d.
Eccle. 18 a.
Iere. 10 b.
Heb. 11 a.
Eſa. 44 c.

IN ye begynnynge God created heaven & earth: and ye earth was voide and emptie and darcknes was upon the depe & ye ſprete of God moved upō the water.

And God ſayde let there be light & there was light. And God ſawe the light that it was good. Then God devyded ye light from the darcknes and called the light Daye; and the darcknes Night. Then of the evenynge and mornynge was made the firſt daye.

And God ſayde: let there be a firmament betwene the waters, and let it devyde ye waters aſunder. Then God made ye firmamēt, and parted the waters under the firmamēt, from the waters above the firmament: And ſo it came to paſſe. And God called ye firmament, heaven. Then of the evenynge & mornynge was made the ſeconde daye.

And God ſayde: let the waters under heaven gather thēſelves unto one place yt the drye londe maye appeare. And ſo it came to paſſe. And God called ye drye londe, Earth: and the gatheringe together of waters called he ye See. And God ſawe yt it was good.

And God ſayde; let ye earth bringe forth grene graſſe and herbe that beareth ſede & frutefull trees that may beare frute, every one after his kynde, havynge their owne ſede in themſelves upon the earth. And ſo it came to paſſe: And the earth brought forth grene graſſe and herbe yt beareth ſede every one after his kynde, & trees bearinge frute, &c.

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On the recto of folio xxiii. ſign. D. v. the book of Geneſis concludes, and on the reverſe of the ſame leaf are the Contents of "the ſeconde Boke of Moſes called Exodus," which begins fo. xxiiii. ſign. D. VI. recto, and ends on the reverſe of fo. xli. g. v. "The thirde boke of Moſes called Leviticus," begins on the recto of fo. xlii. g. VI. and ends at the ninth line of the ſecond column of lv. k. followed immediately by "the fourth boke of Moſes called Numerus," which concludes in the ſeventh line of the firſt column of fo. lxxiiii. n. ii. "The fifth boke of Moſes called Deuteronomion," begins directly with the uſual table of Contents, and ends on fo. xc. p. VI. the reverſe of which is blank.

On the following leaf, within a woodcut border, the three upper compartments of which repreſent Joſhua and his battles, and lower, David and his deeds, the interme-

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diate ſpaces being filled with fanciful intercolumniations, exhibits the following title:

" The ſeconde par-
te of the Old Teſtament.

" The boke of Joſua," fo. ii. a a. ii. recto—fo. xii. b b. vi. rev.

" The boke of the Judges," fo. xii. b b. vi. rev.—fo. xxiii. d d. v. rev.

" The boke of Ruth," fo. xxiii. d d. vi. recto—fo. xxv. e e. i. recto.

" The firſt boke of the Kynges," fo. xxv. e e. i. rev.—fo. xl. g g. iiii. recto.

" The ſeconde boke of the Kynges," fo. xl. g g. iiii. recto—fo. lii. i i. iiii. recto.

" The thirde boke of the Kynges," fo. lii. i i. iiii. recto—fo. lxv. l l. v. rev.

" The fourth boke of the Kynges," fo. lxvi. l l. vi. recto—fo. lxxix. o o. recto.

" The firſt boke of the Chronicles," fo. lxxix. o o. recto—fo. xci. g g. recto.

" The ſeconde boke of the Chronicles," fo. xci. g g. rev.—fo. cvi. s s. iiii. rev.

" The firſt boke of Eſdras," fo. cvi. s s. iiii. rev.—fo. cxi. t t. iii. recto.

" The ſeconde boke of Eſdras," fo. cxi. t t. iii. recto—fo. cxvii. v v. iii. recto.

" The boke of Heſter," fo. cxvii. v v. iii. rev.—fo. cxx. v v. vi. rev.

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On the reverſe of this leaf are the Contents of the book of Joſhua, ſimilar tables being prefixed to every other book in this part.

The third portion of the Old Teſtament appears to have had no ſeparate title, as the boke of Job, with the ſummary of its contents, commence on the recto of folio i. a a. This book ends fo. xii. B b. vi. recto col. 2, and is immediately followed by "the Pſalter," which concludes in the firſt column of the ſecond page of folio xxxvii. G g. ending with the following note:

"SELA."

"In the Pſalter this word Sela commeth very ofte, and after the mynde of the ĩterpreters it is aſmoch to ſaye, as alwaye, contynually, for ever, forſoyth, verely, a liftinge up of the voyce, or to make a pauſe and earneſtly to conſider and to ponder the ſentẽce."

"The Proverbes of Salomon" commence on the ſecond column of

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the ſecond page of folio xxxvii. G g; and conclude on the ſecond page of folio xlvi. H h. iiii. "Eccleſiaſtes" begins folio xlvii. recto, and ends folio l. I i. ii. recto. "Salomon's Balettes, called Cantica Canticorum," commence on the reverſe of folio l. I i. ii. and conclude upon the recto of folio lii. I i. iiii. the reverſe being left blank. Underneath are recorded the

"Fautes eſcaped in the pryntinge of this parte."

"Upon the ſeconde leaf, the ſeconde ſyde, in the ſyxte Chapter of Job, the letter A; Within the yoke an egg, rede, Within the yoke of an egg."

"In the Pſalter."

"Upon the xxxv. leaf, the ſeconde ſyde in the cxxxvi. pſalme the ſeconde verſe: "Upon the trees, rede, Upon the wyllye trees."

The enſuing leaf preſents us with the ſame woodcut border as the title of the ſecond part, with this excep-

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tion, that the four deſcriptive cuts refer to the part to which they are prefixed, and that another has been added occupying the lower part of the central title, which we read thus:

" All the Prophetes"
in Engliſhe.

" Eſay," fo. ii. A a a. ii. recto.
" Jeremy," fo. xxiiii. D d d. vi. recto.
" Baruch," fo. xli. I i i. iii. recto.
" Ezechiel," fo. lv. K k k. recto.
" Daniel," fo. lxxvii. N n n. v. recto.
" Oſeas," fo. lxxxiiii. O o o. vi. recto.
" Joel," fo. lxxxvii. P p p. iii. recto.
" Amos," fo. lxxxviii. P p p. iiii. recto.
" Abdy," fo. xc. P p p. vi. rev.
" Jonas," fo. xci. Q q q. recto.
" Micheas," fo. xci. Q q q. ii. recto.
" Naum," fo. xc. iiii. Q q q. iiii. recto.
" Abacuc," fo. xcv. Q q q. v. recto.
" Sophony," fo. xcvi. Q q q. vi. recto.
" Aggeus," fo. xcvii. R r r. recto.
" Zachary," fo. xcvii. R r r. rev.
" Malachi," fo. ci. R r r. v. rev.—cii. R r r. vi. rev.

The Lamentations of Jeremiah

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are annexed to his Prophecies, folio xlix. I ii.—li. I ii. iii.

On the reverſe of this leaf are the rubrics of Iſaiah, ſimilar to thoſe prefixed to each of the other Prophets. The following leaf preſents us with the ſame title as the preceding part, the four deſcriptive compartments alone being altered to ſuit the parts to which they are prefixed. The title itſelf, in the centre of the page, is as follows:

" APOCRIPHA. "

" The bokes and trea "
tiſes which amonge the fathers
" of olde are not rekened to be of like "
" authorite with the other bo- "
kes of the byble, nether a-
re they foūde in the
" Canon of the "
" Hebrue."

" The Thirde boke of Eſdras," fo. ii. A. ii. recto—fo. viii. B. ii. rev. 1 col.

" The fourth boke of Eſdras," fo. viii. B. ii. rev. 2 col.—fo. xix. D. rev.

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" The boke of Tobias," fo. xx. D. ii. recto —fo. xxiiii. D. vi. recto.

" The boke of Judith," fo. xxiiii. D. vi. recto—fo. xxx. E. vi. recto.

" Certayne Chapters of Heſter," fo. xxx. E. vi. recto—fo. xxxi. F. rev.

" The boke of Wyſdome," fo. xxxii. F. ii. recto—fo. xxxviii. G. ii. recto.

" Eccleſiaſticus," fo. xxxviii. G. ii. recto—fo. lvi. K. ii. rev. col. 1.

" The Storye of Suſanna," fo. lvii. K. iii. rev. col. 1.—fo. lviii. K. iiii. rev.

" The Storye of Bell," fo. lviii. K. iiii. rev. —fo. lix. K. v. recto.

" The firſt boke of the Machabees," fo. lix. K. v. recto—fo. lxxiii. N. rev.

" The ſeconde book of the Machabees," fo. lxxiii. N. rev.—fo. lxxxiii. O. v. rev.

" Unto theſe alſo belongeth Baruc whom we have ſet amōge the prophetes next unto Jeremy, becauſe he was his ſcrybe, and in his tyme."

" The Prayer of Azarias and the Songe of the three children" are inſerted at the cloſe of the Eccleſiaſticus, fo. lvi. K. ii. rev. 1 col. concluding fo. lvii. K. iii. rev. 1 col.; but theſe pieces are more particularly noticed on the reverſe of this leaf, in the following notice of:

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"The tranſzlatoure unto the reader."

" THESE bokes (good reader) which be called Apocrypha are not judged amonge/ the doctours to be of like reputacion with the " other ſcripture, as thou mayeſt/ perceave by " S. Jerome *in epiſtola ad Paulinum.* And the " chefe cauſe therof is this:/ there be many " places in them that ſeem to be repugnant unto " the open and/ manyfeſt trueth in the other " bokes of byble. Nevertheles I have not ga/- " thered them together to the intent that I " wolde have them deſpyſed or litle felt by or " that/ I ſhulde think them falſe, for I am not " able to prove it: Yee I doubt not verely yf " they were/ equally conferred with the other " open ſcripture (time place and circumſtance " in all thin-/ges conſidered) they ſhulde nether " ſeme contrary, nor be untruly and perverſely " aledged. Treuth/ it is: A mās face can not " be ſene ſo wel in a water as in a fayre glaſſe: " nether cā it be ſhewed/ ſo clearly in a water " that is ſtered or moved as in a ſtyll water. " Theſe and many other darck/ places of ſcrip- " ture have been ſore ſtered and myxte with " blynde and cuvetous opynions of/ men which " have caſt ſuch a myſt afore the eyes of y^{e} " ſymple that as long as they be not cō/ferred " with other places of ſcripture, they ſhall not

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" ſeme otherwyſe to be underſtonde,/ then as
" cuvetouſneſs expoundeth them. But whoſo
" ever thou be that readeſt ſcripture, let/ the
" holy gooſt be thy teacher, and let one text
" expounde another unto the: As for ſoch
" drea/mes, viſions and darck ſentences as be
" hyd from thy underſtondinge commyte them
" unto/ God and make no articles of them:
" But let the playne text be thy gyde, and the
" ſprete of/ God (which is the author therof)
" ſhall lede the in all trueth."

" As for the prayer of Salomō (which thou
" findeſt not herin) y^e^ prayer of Azarias, and
" the/ ſwete ſonge that he and his two felowes
" ſonge in the fyre: the firſt (namely the
" prayer of Sa/lomon) readeſt thou in the eight
" chapter of the thirde boke of the Kynges, ſo
" that appea/reth not to be *Apocryphum:* The
" other prayer and ſonge (namely of the thre
" children) haue I/ not founde amonge eny of
" the interpreters, but onely in the olde latyn
" texte which reporteth/ it to be of Theodotios
" tranſlacion. Nevertheles both becauſe of
" thoſe y^t^ be weake and ſcrupu/lous and for
" their ſakes alſo that love ſoch ſwete ſonges of
" thankeſgevinge: I have not left/ them out:
" to the intent that the one ſhulde have no
" cauſe to complayne, and that the other/ alſo
" might the more occaſion to geve thankes
" unto God in adverſite, as the thre chil/dren
" dyd in the fyre. Grace be with the. Amen."

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Underneath are the Contents of the third boke of Eſdras. Next follows the New Teſtament, with a title ornamented in a ſtyle ſimilar to the preceding; the three upper compartments repreſenting our Saviour, with St. Matthew on his right, and St. Mark on his left; and the lower, our Saviour, alſo with St. Luke on his right, and St. John on his left. The title itſelf, in the centre of the page, is as follows:

"The New Teſtament."

"The goſpell of S. Matthew," fo. ii. A A. ii. recto—fo. xv. C C. iii. rev.

"The goſpell of S. Marke," fo. xv. C C. iii. rev.—fo. xxiiii. D D. vi. rev. col. 1.

"The goſpell of S. Luke," fo. xxiiii. D D. vi. rev. col. 2.—fo. xl. G G. iiii. recto.

"The goſpell of S. Jhon," fo. xl. G G. iiii. recto—fo. li. I I. iii. recto.

"The Actes of the Apoſtles," fo. li. I I. iii. recto—fo. lxvi. L L. vi. recto.

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"The Epiſtles of St. Paul."

"The epiſtle unto the Romaynes," fo. lxvi. L L. vi. recto—fo. lxxii. M M. vi. recto.

"The firſt and ſeconde epiſtle to the Corinthians," fo. lxxii. M M. vi. recto—fo. lxxxi. O O. iii. rev.

"The epiſtle to the Galathians," fo. lxxxi. rev. O O. iii.—fo. lxxxiii. O O. v. rev.

"The epiſtle to the Epheſians," fo. lxxxi. O O v. rev.—fo. lxxxvi. P P. ii. recto.

"The epiſtle to the Philippians," fo. lxxxvi. P P. ii. recto—fo. lxxxvii. P P. iii. rev.

"The epiſtle to the Coloſſians," fo. lxxxvii. P P. iii. rev.—fo. lxxxviii. P P. iiii. rev.

"The firſt and ſecõde epiſtle to the Teſſalonians," fo. lxxxix. P P. v. recto—fo. xci. Q Q recto.

"The firſt and ſeconde epiſtle unto Tymothy," fo. xci. Q Q. recto—fo. xciii. Q. Q. iii. rev.

"The epiſtle unto Titus," fo. xciii. Q Q. iiii. recto—fo. xciii. rev.

"The epiſtle unto Philemon," fo. xciiii. Q. Q. iiii. rev.—fo. xcv. Q Q. v. recto.

"The firſt and ſeconde epiſtle of St. Peter," fo. xcv. Q Q. v. recto—ſo. xcvii. R R. rev.

"The thre epiſtles of S. Jhon," fo. xcvii. R R. rev.—fo. xcix. R R. iii. rev.

"The epiſtle unto the Hebrues," fo. c. R R. iiii. recto—fo. ciiii. S S. ii. recto.

"The epiſtle of S. James," fo. ciiii. S S. ii. rev.—fo. cv. S S. iii. rev.

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"The epiſtle of S. Jude," fo. cvi. S S. iiii. recto.

"The Revelacion of S. Jhon," fo. cvi. S S. iiii. rev.—fo. cxiii. T T. v. rev.

On the reverſe of this title are enumerated the chapters of St. Matthew, ſimilar tables being prefixed to each of the books of the New Teſtament in the lower caſe ſecretary Gothic type already mentioned as applied to the ſame purpoſe in the preceding portions of the Bible.

At "the ende of the New Teſta-"ment," on the reverſe of fo. cxiii. T T. v., we read the following notice and ſubſcription:—

"*A faute eſcaped in pryntinge the new*
"*Teſtament.*"

"Upon the fourth leafe, the firſt ſyde, in the "fixte chapter of S. Matthew."

"Seke ye firſt the kyngdome of heaven, &c."
"*Reade* "
"Seke ye firſt the kyngdome of God, &c."

"Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M.D.XXXV."
"and fyniſhed the fourth daye of October."

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This firſt entire verſion of the ſacred Scriptures in the Engliſh language had been preceded by the tranſlation of the New Teſtament in 1526, and of the Pentateuch in 1530, by William Tyndale, who reviſed and republiſhed both theſe verſions in 1534. In the ſame year, George Joye tranſlated the Pſalter, having previouſly rendered into Engliſh the Books of Iſaiah and Jeremiah. That Coverdale was converſant with theſe labours of his predeceſſors there is as little reaſon to doubt, as there is room to ſuppoſe that he ſervilely copied from them. In fact, this verſion was juſtly ſtyled by its author, "a ſpecial Tranſlation," as being diſtinct and different from the other Engliſh tranſlations that were made before it.[3]

[3] "To give the reader ſome notion of this," ſays Mr. Lewis, "I ſhall add the following "ſamples."

"*Tyndal.* 'When the Lorde ſawe that Lea

" I am not ſure," ſays Dr. Cotton, " that it is yet fully aſcertained where this rare and intereſting volume, the firſt edition of the entire Bible in Engliſh, was printed. There was great ſecrecy about its preparation and execution; and the book itſelf gives no information on the point. Frankfort, Zurich, and Cologne have been named. Humphrey Wanley judged by the type that it came from

" ' was deſpiſed, he made her frutefull, but Ra-
" ' chel was baren. And Lea conceaved and bare
" ' a ſonne and called his name Ruben, for ſhe
" ' ſayde: the Lorde hath looked upon my tri-
" ' bulation. And nowe my huſbonde will
" ' lowe me.' *Gen. xxix.*"

" *Coverdale.* 'But when the Lord ſawe
" ' that Lea was nothinge regarded, he made
" ' her frutefull and Rachel baren. And Lea
" ' conceaved and bare a ſonne, whom ſhe
" ' called Ruben, and ſayde: The Lorde hath
" ' looked upon my adverſite. Now wyll my
" ' huſband love me.' *Gen. xxix. D.*"—*Lewis's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Tranſlations of the Bible*, 1739, p. 97. *Dent's Sale Catalogue*, 1827, 8*vo.* p. 19, No. 330.

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the preſs of Chriſtopher Froſchover at Zurich. Herbert ſtates, v. iii. p. 1545, that 'there were two editions, but with little variation.' Certainly I ſaw in the Britiſh Muſeum, many years ago, ſome looſe leaves of a ſecond copy, containing a few ſlight variations, chiefly in the numbering of the folios. When we conſider the difficulties with which this important volume had to ſtruggle at the time of its appearance and for ſome years afterwards, it is more ſurpriſing that we have ſtill ſo many copies remaining, than that almoſt all of them ſhould be more or leſs imperfect. The title-page, as was to be expected for more than one reaſon, is the part chiefly wanting; only a ſingle title perfect and entire is now known, namely in the copy belonging to the Earl of Leiceſter, which book is ſaid to have been diſcovered in 1846, concealed under the falſe bottom of an

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old oak cheſt at Holkham Hall, the Earl's ſeat in Norfolk. One of the copies in the Britiſh Muſeum has about three-fourths of the original title-page, the remainder being made up from another edition. It is well known that the preliminary pieces uſually attached to this edition are executed in a totally different type from that of the text, and moſt probably were added after the arrival of the Work in England."—COTTON's *Editions of the Bible.* 2nd Ed. 1852, p. 8 and 9.

Chriſtopher Froſchover, to whom Humphrey Wanley firſt attributed the honour of having printed the firſt Engliſh Bible, an opinion which Dibdin and other bibliographers have confirmed, began to exerciſe the typographical art at Zurich in 1522, and executed many books in the German and Latin languages, and a few in the Greek, with the utmoſt accu-

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racy and diligence; from his 26th year to the lateſt period of his uſeful and protracted life. Conrad Geſner aſſigns to Chriſtopher Froſchover the firſt place among the more eminent printers of the day;[4] and this accom-

[4] As the curious in theſe matters may like to know the *ipſiſſima verba* which the learned Geſner addreſſed to the perpetuator of his fame, who certainly uſed all his ſkill to render his books attractive, I ſubjoin the dedication of that book of Geſner's Pandects which treats of Grammar.

"*Clariſſimo Typographo Chriſtophoro Froſcho-*
"*vero. Conradus Geſnerus S.D.P.*"

Non primus ego unius Voluminis diverſos libros pluribus ſingillatim nuncupo: fecerunt idem etiam alii memoriâ noſtrâ, iique ſolidæ eruditionis viri. Mihi quidem conſilium non eſt, quodcunque illis fuerit, de eâdem fideliâ (ut aiunt) plures parieter dealbare: qui Dedicationibus iſtis neque tam gloriam illorum, ad quos fiunt, neque meum aliquod commodum, quàm propoſiti argumenti illuſtrationem, reique litterariæ utilitatem quæſiverim. Etenim in ſtudioſorum gratiam ut Opus hoc univerſum compoſui, ita ſingulorum ejus librorum Inſcriptiones

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pliſhed printer appears to have carried on a proſperous trade for full

feci in Typographorum illorum nomina, qui hôc tempore maximè florerent, ac optimè de bonis ſtudiis meriti eſſent, ut ſimul hac occaſione, quinam ex officinis eorum Libri prodiviſſent, quotquot meminiſſe poteram, commemorarem: ſimul, ut graviter pergerent, pro virili meâ illos animarem. Excitatur enim ferè ad majora, qui anteactos labores ſuos quàm plurimis et utiles et gratos fuiſſe, ſeque publicis illorum gratiâ laudibus, tanquam ſuæ præmio virtutis, affici celebrarique animadverterit. Principem vero tibi locum, Froſchovere, inter claros ætatis hujus Typographos aſſignavi, non de induſtriâ quidem, neque primario inſtituto, ſed caſu, ut modò dicam. Deſtinaveram tibi poſtremum hujus Operis de Chriſtiananâ Theologiâ librum tum quod illius argumenti plurimos Latinè et Germanicè Libros excudiſſe; tum quòd modeſtiùs ita mihi facturus viderer, neque nimium patriæ et civi, minus exteris à me tribui ſuſpicionem excitaturus. Sed cùm ita contingeret, ut duo poſtremi Libri in preſentiâ non adjungerentur reliquis, et primus *adeſpotos* ſupereſſet (ab initio enim Editionis nondum hoc conſilii ceperam) nemini juſtiùs quàm tibi illum deberi exiſtimavi. Nam tu quoque primus ad utramque Bibliothecæ partem, maturè elaborandum *ergodioctes* mihi fuiſti, magniſque ſump-

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fifty years. Maittaire, in his Typogr. Annals, has given a Catalogue of

tibus et laboribus tuis has et alias pleraſque lucubrationes meas publicâſti. Tu jam vigeſimo ſexto ferè anno optimos ſubinde Codices excudere non ceſſas, Latinâ et Germanicâ Linguâ plurimos, nonnullos etiam Græcâ: eoſque omnes optimâ fide, diligentiâ ſummâ, adeo ut nihil uſquam de boni Typographi officio deſyderari in te poſſit. Bene itaque cecidit, ut quod caſu quodam factum eſt, idem optimo jure et ex officio meo factum videatur. Quanquam ita judicare debet, ac ſi Librorum ordo, quos aliis priùs, aliis poſteriùs dedicavi, diſcrimen aliquod inter Typographos conſtituat. Non enim ordinem, ſed argumentum, ut plurimum, reſpexi, in quo quis vel numero vel dignitate excuſorum à ſe Librorum excelleret: et alicubi fortè ut primùm quis in mentem venit, ita Liber aliquis ei dicatus eſt. Nulla hic ut in ambitioſis conventibus πρωτοκαθεδρία, nulla comparatio; in ſuo omnes genere excellunt. Alii unius, alii duarum aut plurimum diſciplinarum aut linguarum libros exhibuerunt: et qui numero vincuntur, in paucis diligentiâ compenſaverunt, aut unum fortè multorum inſtar dederunt. Porrò plures ſupereſſe digniſſimos celebrari Typographos non ſum neſcius, nec ullum equidem illorum, quos laude dignos novi, præteriiſſem, ſi totidem mihi numero nuncupandi Libri ſuperfuiſſent. Sed

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the productions of his Preſs[5] (vol. II. 383—6) and his ſingular devices have been transferred with congenial ſpirit to the motley pages of the Bibliographical Decameron, ii. 196—200. The type of Froſchover bears ſo cloſe a reſemblance to that which was uſed at Baſil, that Dibdin cannot but conſider it as cut from the ſame matrices, and it may be added that the lateſt Work in which his name appears, is

vino, quod aiunt, *vendibili* non opus eſt ſuſpenſâ hederâ. Tu primum hunc Librum, optime Froſchovere, hilaris accipies, et ut bonas literas omnes, ita Grammaticam et Philologiam, quod argumentum ejus poſtulat, ſtrenuè promovere perges; ſic animum tibi alacrem et ſucceſſum felicem amantiſſimus humani generis Chriſtus rebus tuis ſemper cunctis propitius gratificetur. Vale. Figuri. Anno Salutis 1548. duodecimo CALENDI Septembris."

[5] The Preſs of Froſchover appears to have been principally employed upon works of Theology and Ethics, Grammar and Rhetoric, Poetry and Medicine, though a few works of Geography, and ſome Maps, chiefly of Switzerland, ſeem to have ſhared his attention.

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Simler's republication of the Bibliotheca of Geſner[6] in 1583.

Myles Coverdale, a native of Yorkſhire, was among the firſt Engliſh Reformers, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed divines of the age in which he lived. He was educated at Cambridge, and profeſſed at the houſe of St. Auſtin's Friars at that place. He afterwards went abroad, and in 1532 aſſiſted *William Tyndal* in tranſlating ſeveral portions of the Sacred Writ, but the moſt important reſult of their labours, and that which will render the name of *Coverdale* immortal, was the tranſlation of the whole of the Bible for the firſt time in the Eng-

[6] *Conrad Geſner*, ſurnamed the Pliny of Germany, at once a ſcholar, philoſopher, and bibliographer, was born at Zurich in 1516, and died in 1565. His own Works are his beſt monument, and the concurrent teſtimony of Julius Scaliger, Theodore Beza, and De Thou, his beſt eulogium. Conſult Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 39 and 40.

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liſh tongue, finiſhed on the 4th of October, 1535. He alſo publiſhed a verſion of the New Teſtament in 1538. He was ſubſequently made Almoner to Queen Catherine Parr; and in 1551 he was promoted to the See of Exeter. On the acceſſion of Queen Mary, he went to Denmark, and afterwards to Geneva, where he joined other Engliſh refugees in a new verſion of the Bible. When Elizabeth aſcended the throne, he returned to England, but did not reſume his Biſhopric. The rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge, was however, beſtowed upon him, and reſigned by him in 1566. His death occurred in 1568, though he is ſtated by others to have arrived at the age of 81 upon his deceaſe in 1580. See the Biographia Britannica, Berkenhout's Biographia Literaria, Watts' Bibl. Britannica, and Gorton's Biographical Dictionary. Coverdale is

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chiefly known to the world as a tranſlator, and wherever the Engliſh Bible ſhall find its way, there will his name be duly honoured; but he was alſo the author of various books, chiefly theological, which have ſcarcely ſurvived the age in which he lived. The curious, however, may find them enumerated in Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, p. 496. Much alſo by and reſpecting Coverdale will be found in Fox's Book of Martyrs, and Letters of the Martyrs, printed by Daye.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE.

Copies extant in Public Libraries.

I. The perfect copy of this book which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum at London, has both the original title and Pickering's woodcut. The former, however, has been made up of two ſeparate titles, and ſo clumſily united, that the firſt letters of the table, or the reverſe

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of the title, are completely hidden from the top to the bottom of the page. The dedication is to Queen Anne. The map is wanting. At the end of the volume are four leaves, being folios: Fo. ii. of the third part of the Old Teſtament correſponding with fo. v. in this copy, containing Eſay, chap. x. Fo. xlv. correſponding with fo. xlvi. of this ſame part, comprehending the 1ſt chapter of Jeremy. Fo. xlix of the ſame part correſponding with fo. xlix in this copy, and commencing with 'The Lamentations of Jeremy,' and fo. lxxxi of the New Teſtament correſponding with the ſame leaf, falſely numbered lxxi in this copy, and containing chap. xii. &c. of the ii. Epiſtle to the Corinthians. Theſe four leaves are preceded by a manuſcript title, which runneth thus: Variations in Coverdale's Bible, 1535. It appears that the contents of theſe leaves do differ occaſionally from thoſe contained in the body of the work, but as they are not more correct, I preſume them to have been taken from ſome other copy by ſome curious perſon, who being poſſeſſed of two copies, had remarked the difference, and not to have been ſubſequently added by any perſon connected with the publication of the Work. This diſtinction is important, as it is evident, upon inſpection, that the preſent copy contains no ſupplementary matter in the ſhape of various readings, as the MS. title would imply, but that theſe four

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leaves are a gratuitous addition to the volume. Annexed to this copy is another MS. title of "Capital Letters uſed in Coverdale's Bible, 1535," followed by a page upon which no leſs than forty-three of thoſe initials, together with the word "APOCRIPHA," are paſted, melancholy memorial of the diſmemberment of ſome other copy of this valuable and intereſting work. The copy under notice meaſures twelve inches in height by eight in width, and is bound in old blue morocco, with gilt leaves and joints in the ſtyle of Roger Payne. From the ſtamp on the ſide, it appears to have belonged to "C. Combe, M.D." It is in tender condition in ſome places, and ſtained in others: it cannot be called an unſophiſticated copy.

II. A ſecond copy, wanting the title, was added to the National collection by the munificent bequeſt of the Honourable Thomas Grenville's noble Library.

III. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford. A copy which belonged to John Selden.—*Cotton's Editions of the Bible*, p. 10.

IV. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford. A fine though defective copy, formerly Mrs. Denyer's.—*Cotton, Ib.*

V. In the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford.—*Cotton, Ib.*

VI. In the Library of Sion College, Middleſex.—*Cotton, Ib.*

VII. and VIII. In the Archiepiſcopal Li-

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brary at Lambeth Palace. Two copies, one with the dedication to Anne, wants the title and map, but is perfect, though damaged. It meaſures 12½ inches by 7⅞, in old calf binding. The other, with the dedication to Jane, wants the whole of the New Teſtament and the title. It has the addition of thirteen leaves, being 'a table of the principal Matters conteyned in the whole Bible,' in black letter. It meaſures 12½ by 8 inches, and is in calf binding.—*Cotton, Ib.*

IX. In the Library of the Baptiſt Muſeum at Briſtol, bequeathed by Dr. Gifford.—*Cotton, Ib.* p. 1-3.

X. In the Library of King's College, Cambridge. A very clean copy, meaſuring 12½ by 7¾ in a looſe and ſcurvy binding. Has a fabricated title, and the Queen's name eraſed in the dedication ſo determinedly that it cannot be deciphered. After five pages of dedication comes the Prologue, ſix pages, followed by the Contents of Geneſis, one page.—*Hartſhorne's Book Rarities*, p. 215.

XI. In the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.—*Cotton's Editions of Bible, ſecond edition*, 1854, p. 9.

XII. In the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge.—*Cotton, Ib.*

XIII. In the Public Library at Cambridge. —*Hartſhorne*, p. 131. *Cotton, Ib.*

XIV. In the Library of the Glaſgow Univerſity.—*Cotton*, p. 9.

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XV. In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Two copies; that which has been long in the Library begins with Geneſis cxiii., and ends with Eccleſiaſticus cxlvi. But that Library has recently become poſſeſſed of a ſecond copy, extremely fine and *nearly* perfect, having the 'title and three leaves admirably reprinted in facſimile.'—*Cotton, ſecond edition*, 1852, p. 10.

XVI. In the Library of Durham Cathedral. This copy wants the title and the firſt two leaves of the prefatory matter, together with the maps. It is alſo defective at the end, wanting all the leaves ſubſequent to ſignature TT. iii. in the Revelations. The middle of the book is ſound, though the three laſt leaves are much torn. It is in calf binding, lettered by ſome unaccountable error, "Grafton's Bible, 1541."

XVII. In the Library of Rocheſter Cathedral. A perfect copy, with the exception of the title and the map, but in very tender condition at both extremities. It meaſures nearly 12 inches by $7\frac{7}{8}$; and has been protected by having been bound between the Booke of Common Prayer and the Booke of Pſalmes, both of the year 1629, and lettered upon the old calf binding, "Holy Bible, 1629."

XVIII. In the Library of Wincheſter Cathedral. This copy is defective in the beginning, wanting the title and all the preliminary leaves, together with the firſt leaf of the text. It is, however, quite perfect, though ſtained

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at the end, and is very ſound in the middle. It does not poſſeſs the map, and is in its original binding of calf, with braſs knobs, &c. The dimenſions of this volume are 12⅛ by 8¼ inches.

XIX. In the Library of Glouceſter Cathedral, preſented by Alderman Pury, a Puritan, to that Library when it was in the cuſtody of the Mayor and Burgeſſes of Glouceſter, to whom it had been preſented by Oliver Cromwell in 1648. At the Reſtoration the entire Collection was reſtored to the Chapter.—*Cotton*, ſecond edition, p. 10.

Copies extant in Private Collections.

1. The Marqueſs of Northampton, a nearly perfect copy.—*Dibdin, Bibl. Sp. I.* 81, *and Bibliophobia*, p. 89.

2. Earl Spencer. A large and fine copy, wanting the centre of the firſt leaf, or title, and one leaf of table after the Prolegomena, bequeathed to his Lordſhip by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, Vicar of Epſom, 1804. In ruffia binding. Formerly in the Harleian Collection. *Ædes Althorp.* p. lvi.

3. Earl of Jerſey. A perfect copy, in blue morocco, by C. Lewis, with title reprinted in the fifteenth century. Black letter with the date of 1536, and no table at the back thereof. —*Clarke, R. B.* 313.

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4. Mr. Herbert; 'appears to have been imperfect.'—*Dibdin, Bibl. Sp. I.* 81.

5. Mrs. Smith of Dulwich, reported perfect by Dibdin.—*Ib.*

6. and 7. Lord Suffield, in the Blickling Library, Norfolk. Two copies, both imperfect, one wanting all the introductory pieces, the text being entire; the other with the same deficiency, wanting also the two first leaves of the old, and the title, and eleven last leaves of the new Testament.—*Dibdin, Library Companion*, p. 32.

8. Mr. Perkins. Mr. Dent's copy, wanting the first three leaves.

9. Mr. Luxmore, imperfect.

10. Earl of Leicester, with the title perfect and entire, discovered in 1846, in an old chest at Holkham, Norfolk.—*Cotton*, p. 9.

11. Bishop R. Daly.—*Cotton, second edition*, 1852, p. 10.

12. Lea Wilson, Esq.—*Ib. Cat.* 1845, p. 1—4.

13. B. Harrison, Esq.—*Ib.*

14. Mr. Offor.—*Ib.*

15. Mr. Reed.—*Ib.*

16. Miss Richardson Currer, Eshton Hall. "An exceedingly fine copy, and deficient only in the title, address to Henry VIII., the prologue, table of the bookes, and title to Apocrypha."—*Eshton Library Cat.* 1832, p. 4.

17. Mr. Beriah Botfield, at Norton Hall, Northamptonshire. The supernumerary leaves

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mentioned as annexed to the copy in the Britiſh Muſeum[7] are wanting in this copy, but as theſe contain variations which ſeem to be chiefly in the paging, their loſs is of little moment. A more ſerious defect is the deficiency of the title, and of one leaf, folio cx. TT. ii. in the Apocalypſe, both of which have been admirably ſupplied by Mr. Harris, in facſimile. The volume which meaſures 12¼ inches by 8, has been recently bound by Charles Lewis, in dark blue morocco, after the manner of Lord Jerſey's perfect copy, but does not contain the map of the Holy Land, which according to Herbert, ſhould intervene between the Books of Moſes and the ſecond part of the Old Teſtament, and which is inſerted at fol. xc. pt. 1. of Earl Spencer's copy.

Several copies of this impreſſion exiſt, but not more than three are *known* to poſſeſs the firſt leaf or title-page, and very few, it will be ſeen, have ever occurred for ſale.

18. Two copies, examined in London, October, 1833.

One at Payne and Foſs's, 81, Pall Mall, bound in blue morocco by C. Lewis, like Lord Jerſey's and my own copy. Folio. It has for the title-page, Pickering's woodcut. The firſt leaf of the dedication, and the two laſt leaves

[7] Cotton's Liſt of various editions of the Bible, 1821, p. 3 and 4, 8vo.

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of Revelations are ſupplied in facſimile by Harris. The vith leaf of Geneſis, and the cx and cxi of Revelations are wanting. A few leaves are alſo mended, and ſupplied by MS. Marked £50.

19. Another at Mr. Pickering's, 57, Chancery Lane, bound in plain old calf. Folio. Imperfect at the beginning and end, but containing the text from folio ii to folio lxxxviii incluſive. It is much ſtained and cropt at the bottom margin. Marked 12 Guineas.

20. Dr. Coombe.

Copies ſold.

1. Dent, 1827, Pt. I. No. 330. £89 5*s*.
2. Arch. Perkins, wanting three firſt leaves.
3. Denyer. Imperfect. £39 18*s*. Bodleian.
4. Maſon. £16 5*s*. 6*d*.
5. Payne and Foſs, 1832, wanting title and one leaf of Revelations, £105. Now in Mr. Botfield's Library at Norton Hall.
6. The Harleian Copy, in ruſſia, 1743, I. No. 154, Oſborne. Now in Earl Spencer's Collection at Althorp.
7. The Duke of Suſſex. £130. for America.
8. Dr. Hawtrey, 1853. Title in facſimile and firſt two leaves of dedication reprinted. Three leaves of dedication, a. i., a. ii., table, map at cvii. and cxiii. in facſimile. No. 149, Cat. p. 16. £111. Stevens, for America.

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9. Mr. Loſcombe, 1854, wanting title and all after the ſeventh Chapter of Acts. No. 149. £33.

10. Mr. Gardner's, with map of the Holy Land, but wanting the title and firſt leaf of the dedication. No. 421, Cat. p. 36. £365. Upham, for the Earl of Aſhburnham.

11. A copy of No. 214 in a Catalogue of Books at Sotheby's, Auguſt 1, 1855, with the title, preliminary matter, folios i. to viii. in Geneſis, and the laſt ſeven leaves in Revelations, and the maps ſupplied by Harris. £52 10ſ. Boone.

Conſult

Ames's Typogr. Antiq. by Herbert, III. 1544-5.

Brunet, Manuel, 1820, I. 210.

Clement, Bibl. Curieuſe, III. 415-17.

Cotton, Liſt of Engliſh Editions of the Bible, 1821, p. 3-4, p. 85-6, p. 90, p. 98-9, p. 111-12. Second edition, 1852. Typographical Gazetteer, 1832, p. 285.

Dent's Catalogue, 1825. Quarto, p. 24.

Dibdin, Bibl. Spenceriana, I. 78-81.
Ædes Althorpianæ, I. 61.
Bibliophobia, p. 15 and p. 88-9.
Library Companion, p. 32.

Freytag, Analecta Litteraria, I. p. 97.

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Hagemanns, J. G., Nachricht vonden fürnehmſten Ueberſetzungen der H. Schrift, 8vo. 1750, p. 376.

Horne, H. H., Introduction to the Scriptures, II., App. 60-61.

Le Long, J. Bibliotheca, Sacra, I. 428.

Lewis's Engliſh Tranſlations of the Bible, 8vo. 1739, p. 91-104.

Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, p. 168.

Newcombe, Archbiſhop, Hiſtorical View of the Engliſh Biblical Tranſlations, 1792, p. 29-33.

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BIBLIOTHECA MEMBRANACEA BRITANNICA,

OR NOTICES OF EARLY ENGLISH BOOKS PRINTED UPON VELLUM.

BY BERIAH BOTFIELD, M.A.

EX ÆDE CHRISTI, OXONII.

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Bibliotheca Membranacea Britannica.

THIS brief account of the membranaceous productions of the early Engliſh Preſs, is the reſult of the gathering together of the materials which exiſt for ſuch a work, with the view of its becoming the channel through which more perfect information may be made to flow. While the early printers of Germany and Italy employed vellum as the material then moſt in uſe, the later introduction of the art into England rendered paper the more commodious vehicle for its uſe. The unrivalled typography of Jenſon, the fertile preſs of Aldus, ſhine in many a perga-

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menous tome, while one book only on vellum is known to have iſſued from the preſs of Caxton. To aſcertain, however, the extent to which the founders of the Britiſh preſs indulged in the utmoſt luxury of their art, and to trace the locality of thoſe copies which have eſcaped the ravages of time, cannot, ſurely, to a Britiſh bibliographer be an ungrateful or an unworthy taſk. This imperfect record of the moſt enduring monuments of the Engliſh preſs may be intereſting to all thoſe whoſe attachment to the literature of their country, makes them anxious to reſcue from oblivion ſome of its earlieſt memorials, and to illuſtrate to the utmoſt of their power the typographical Antiquities of England.

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William Caxton. Weſtminſter.

The Doctrinal of Sapience. Folio. Weſtminſter, vii May, 1489.

" Caxton me fieri fecit."

In the Royal Collection, the late King's Copy, preſented to George III. by Mr. Bryant.

Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 184.
Dibdin, Bibl. Spencer, IV. 283.
Typogr. Antiq. I. 266-274.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 199-200.
Bibl. du Roi, IV. 270.

William Machlinia. London.

Chronicle of England, &c. Folio.

" Partly written and partly printed on paper and vellum, belonging to the late John Anſtis, Garter." Herbert's Ames, I. 115.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq.
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 219.

A Book of Devotion.

" Printed on vellum, in Latin, and with the ſame type as the Nova Statuta."
Herbert's Ames, I. 115.
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 219.

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Oxford. Theodore Rood.

Alexander, de Ales, de Alexandriâ, in tres libros Ariſtotelis de animâ. Folio. Oxonii, Theodoricus Rood. 1481.

In the Library of Brazen-Noſe College, Oxford.

Cotton, Typogr. Gazetteer, p. 209-10, and 12.
Van. Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 250.
Ant. à Wood, Hiſt. Oxon., 1674. I. 227.

Joannes Latteburius in threnos Hieremiæ, ſine loci et typ. nom. 1482. Folio. Char. eodem cum præcedente.

In the Chapter Houſe at Weſtminſter.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. xvii, and 210 and 212.

Saint Alban's.

The Chronicle of Englonde, with the frute of times. St. Albans. Folio. 1483.

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In the Library of Miſs Currer, at Eſhton Hall, Yorkſhire; with four leaves on paper, and the laſt in facſimile. Cat., p. 193. 1833. p. 224.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. xvii. and 7.
Dibdin, Library Companion, p. 180.
Typ. Antiq.
Bibl. Spencer, IV. 369.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. IV. 127.
Ebert, Lexik. I. col. 322. No. 4189.

Wynkyn de Worde. London and Weſtminſter.

Juliana Berners' Treatiſes on hawking, hunting, fiſhing and cotarmour. Folio. Weſtmeſtre, W. de Worde. 1496.

1. The Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton.
2. Hon. Thomas Grenville, London.
3. Mr. Haworth, wanting two leaves.
4. Mr. Joſeph Haſlewood.
5. Earl Spencer. 10 in. by 7¼ in olive morocco.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 55-65.
Bibl. Spencer, IV. 373.
Bibliomania, p. 429-30.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 265.

The Cronycle of Englonde, with

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the frute of Tymes. Weſtmeſtre, Wynkyn de Worde. Folio. 1497.

In the Archiepiſcopal Library at Lambeth Palace.

Bibl. Topogr. Brittan. No. XXVII. p. 59.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. III. 92.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 69-71.

The Aſſyze of Bread. Quarto. (Wynkyn de Worde. 12 Henry VII. 1496.)

Twelve leaves with woodcuts.

In the Pepyſian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Hartſhorne's Book Rarities, p. 238.
Gough's Brit. Topogr. I. 628.

Horæ Mariæ Virginis in uſum Sarum. Quarto. Londini, per Winandum de Worde. 1502.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 352.

Richard Hampole's devoute Meditacyon, &c. London, Wynkyn de Worde, 1508. Quarto.

John Dent's Copy, ſold to Jones in 1827, Cat. Pt. II. No. 257, for £6 10*s*., wanting ſignature D 2 and 5, probably the ſame with Voigt's

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copy mentioned in the Typogr. Antiq. II. 126, is ſtill in Mr. Jones's poſſeſſion.

Dent's Cat. in 4to. 1825, p. 115.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 151.
Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 248.
Voigt's Sale Cat. 1806.
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 266.

The Seven penytencyall Pſalmes of David, by Johan Fyſher. Quarto. xvi Juyn, 1508.

In the Public Library at Cambridge, A.B. 5. 30.

Hartſhorne's Book Rarities, p. 148.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 138.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 148.

The Shippe of Fooles, tranſlated out of frenche by Henry Watſon. Enprynted at London in Flete Street by Wynkyn de Worde. 1509. Quarto.

In the Royal Library at Paris. Text. 6 in. by 3⅝ in red morocco.

Van Praet, Bibl. du Roi, IV. 232, No. 346.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 216-220, 437, and 603.
Tour. II. 249-250.

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A Morning Remembrance, &c. Quarto. London. W. de Worde. (1509.)

"There are copies upon vellum."
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 142-3.
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 277.

Hiſtory of Hilyar, knight of the Swanne. Imprynted at Weſtmeſter by Wynkyn de Worde. 1512. Quarto.

"Printed on parchment or vellum."
"One of the rareſt Engliſh Books exiſting."
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 288.

Nova Legenda Angliæ. Folio. Londini, Winandus de Worde. 1516.

In the Royal Library at Paris.
Van Praet, Bibl. du Roi. V. 27-8, No. 32.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 209.

An Almanac or Calendar, in a ſmall folio ſheet, folded in 18mo. Wynkyn de Worde. 1523.

In the Pepyſian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Hartſhorne's Book Rarities, p. 238-9.

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The Orcharde of Syon, in the which is conteyned the Revelacyons of Seynt Katheryne of Sene. Imprynted at London, in Flete Strete, by Wynkyn de Worde. 1519. Folio.

In the Library of Beriah Botfield at Norton Hall, Northamptonſhire, from the Knight, Dent, and Hibbert collections. 10 in. by 7½, in crimſon velvet, with claſps.

Dent's Cat. 4to. p. 188; 8vo. Pt. II. p. 52., and Hibbert's Cat. 8vo. 1829, p. 331.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. IV. 38.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 237-244.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 1373.

Whittinton, Robert, Epigrammata, cum Quibuſdam Panegyricis, &c. Londini, per me Wynandum de Worde. 1519. Quarto.

The original MS. preſentation Copy to Cardinal Wolſey, upon vellum, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 181-3.
Library Companion, p. 571.

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Richard Pynſon. London.

Breviarium ſecundum uſum Sarum. Londini. Ricardus Pynſon. 1500. Quarto.

In the Library of Earl Spencer, with the date cut out. The Mac Carthy Copy?

Dibdin, Decameron, III. 398.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 147, No. 423.
Cat. de Mac. Carthy, I. 57, No. 355.
Herbert's Ames' Typ. Ant. I. 287.

Miſſale ſecundum uſum Sarum. Folio. London, Richard Pynſon. 1500.

In the Library of Earl Spencer. The Mac Carthy Copy.

Dibdin, Ædes Althorp. II. 193-5.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 148.
Cat. de Mac Carthy, I. 57, No. 356.

Miſſale ad uſum Eccleſiæ Sarum. Folio. Londini, Ric. Pynſon. 1504.

In the Library of Earl Spencer, with ſeveral leaves on paper.

Dibdin, Ædes Althorp. II. 196.
Typ. Antiq. II. 424-5.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 148.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 1278.

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Miſſale ad uſum Eccleſiæ Sarum. Folio. Londini, Ric. Pynſon. 1506.

Among Biſhop Parker's MSS. in the Library of Corpus Chriſti, otherwiſe Benet College at Cambridge.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 424-6.
Hartſhorne, Book Rarities, p. 245, note.

The Hiſtory of the Siege and Deſtruction of Troye. By Richarde Pynſon. 1513. Folio.

1. In the Pepyſian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. 12 in. by 8⅝, in original calf, edges ſhaved and gilt.

2. In the Library of Bamburgh Caſtle, Northumberland. 11⅝ in. by 8⅛, in calf, ſtamped on the ſides.

Hartſhorne, Book Rarities, p. 244.
Dibdin, Library Companion, p. 675.
Typ. Antiq. II. 447.
Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 120.
Bamburgh Caſtle Catalogue, p. 28.

Petri Carmeliani Carmen Nuptiale. (Londini, Ric. Pynſon, circa 1514.) Quarto, 24 leaves.

In the Library of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville, in London, now in the Britiſh Mu-

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ſeum. The Colbert, Harleian, and Mac Carthy Copy, in mellow red morocco.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 548-552, III. 134.
Bibl. Decam. III. 174.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. II. 97.
Cat. de Mac Carthy, I. 429, No. 2786.
Bibl. Harl. IV. 525, No. 10200.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 350.
Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 614.

Cutheberti Tonſtalli in laudem Matrimonii Oratio, &c. Quarto. Londini, per Ric. Pynſon. 1518.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Cardinal Wolſey's Copy.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 344.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 478.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. IV. 59.

Miſſale ad uſum Eccleſiæ Sarum. Folio. Londini, Richardus Pynſon, nono Kal. Jan. 1520. in flete ſtrete.

1. In the Royal Library at Paris, 14 p. 10 l.
2. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
3. In the Pepyſian Library at Cambridge, 15¼ in. by 10¼, in blue morocco, with gilt leaves.

Van Praet, Bibl. du Roi, I. 226-7.
Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 344.
Hartſhorne, Book Rarities, p. 245.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 1278.

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Aſſertio ſeptem Sacramentorum adverſus Martinum Lutherum. Folio. Londini, in ædibus Pynſonianis. 1521.

1. In the Vatican Library at Rome, the preſentation Copy from Henry VIII.

" Anglorum Rex Henricus, Leo decimo, mittit
Hoc opus et fidei teſtem et amicitiæ."
In the King's autograph.

2. In the Library of Earl Spencer, with the title-page illuminated. 10¼ in. by 8, in old calf.

3. The Copy of Chomel, Evêque d'Orange, ſold September 28, 1780.

4. A ſecond Copy in the Vatican.

Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 201-2.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 485.
Library Companion, p. 573-4.
La Lande, Voyage d'Italie, IV. 62.
Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 353.
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 432-3.

Cuthbert Tonſtall, de Arte Supputandi, libri IV. Londini, in ædibus Richardi Pynſoni. 1522. Quarto.

1. In the Library of Corpus Chriſti College at Oxford. Tonſtall's own copy, with his autograph.

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2. In the Public Library at Cambridge. A preſentation Copy, with Tonſtall's autograph, 'Cuthbertus Londiēſis epō ſtudioſis dono dedit.' In old red morocco, $10\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $7\frac{5}{8}$.

Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 280.
Hartſhorne, Book Rarities, p. 161-2.
Dibdin, Bibl. Decam. II. 368.
Library Companion, p. 573.
Typ. Antiq. II. 478-9.

The Mirroure of gold for the ſinful Soule. London, printed by Richard Pynſon, without date. Quarto.

The Harleian Copy. Ames ſays there are many others. Some on vellum—Herbert from Ames. Typ. Ant. I. 289.

Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 200.
Bibl. Harl. IV. 525, No. 10198.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 547.
Johnſon's Typographia, I. 449.

Thomæ Linacri Rudimenta Grammatices. Quarto. Londini, in ædibus Pynſonianis, ſ. a.

In the Britiſh Muſeum, London.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 1135.

Miſſale ad uſum Sarum. Folio.

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Impreſſum Londiniis, per Ric. Pynſon, ſine notâ anni.

In the Library of St. John's College, Oxford.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. II. 425-6.

Horæ beatiſſime Virginis Marie, &c. "Expliciunt horæ." Per Richardum Pynſon. Quarto. ſine anni notâ.

"Printed on vellum."

Johnſon's Typographia, I. 437-8.

Breviarium ſecundum uſum Sarum, &c. Arte quoque induſtriâ Richardi Pynſon. Quarto, without date.

"The late M. Tutet had a copy of this edition upon vellum."

Dibdin, Typogr. Antiq. II. 543.

Julian Notary. London.

Horæ B. M. V. ad uſum Sarum. Quarto. Londini, Julyan Notary. 1503.

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1. In the Library of the Duke of Devonſhire. The Towneley Copy.
2. In the Library of the Rev. Mr. Maſters.
   Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 635.
   Dibdin, Decameron. II. 363.
   Typogr. Antiq. II. 579.
   Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 151.

John Siberch. Cambridge.

Galeni, Pergamenſis, de Temperamentis, &c. libri III. Latinè, interprete Thoma Linacro, Anglo, Quarto. Cantabrigiæ per Joannem Siberch. 1521.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The preſentation Copy to Henry VIII. who gave it to Biſhop Tonſtall. It is remarkable for ſome variations noted by Herbert, in his Ames. III. 1411, but omitted in the Typ. Antiq. of Dibdin.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 54 and 344.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 762-3.
Dibdin, Bibl. Decameron, II. 368.
Library Companion, p. 572-3.
Tanner, Bibl. Brit.-Hibern. 1748, p. 482.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 274-5.

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John Skot. London.

The Book which is called the Body of Polycye. Imprinted at London by John Skot. 1521. Quarto.

In the Public Library at Cambridge. Ruled with lines which once were red; the vellum much diſcoloured, the woodcuts uncoloured, the initials illuminated. 8¼ in. by 5¼, in old calf.

This unique copy formed part of the Library of George I. and was preſented by George II. to the Univerſity of Cambridge.

Hartſhorne's Book Rarities, p. 165.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. III. 74.

Thomas Berthelet. London.

Opus eximium de verâ differentiâ Regiæ Poteſtatis et Eccleſiaſticæ. Quarto. Londini in ædibus Tho. Bertheleti. 1534.

1. In the Royal Library at Paris. M. Huet de Froberville's Copy.

2. In the Library of Earl Spencer. The Harleian Copy, and Herbert's.

Van Praet, Bibl. du Roi. II. 48-9.

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Cat. de la Bibl. de Proli. 1785. 8vo. p. 68. No. 536.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. III. 287.
Bibl. Harl. IV. 524. No. 10195.
Arch. Cat. 1814. p. 175. No. 4460.

Bibliotheca, ſeu Dictionarium Lat. et Angl. auctum per Tho. Cooper. Quarto. London, by Tho. Berthelet. 1542.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford, partly on paper, partly on vellum.
Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 351.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. IV. 58.

Ricardi Sampſonis Oratio. Quarto. Londini, Thomas Bertheletus, ſ. a. 14 leaves.

In the Public Library at Cambridge.
Cat. lib. MSS. Angl. et Hibern. 1697. folio II. 382. col. 2. No. 152.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. II. 27.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. III. 345.

William Lilye, Breviſſima Inſtitutio ſeu Ratio Grammatices cognoſcendæ. Quarto. Londini in ædibus Bertheleti. 1542.

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In the Britiſh Muſeum at London. The Cracherode Copy, in old red morocco.

Dibdin, Bibl. Decameron. II. 370.
Library Companion, p. 572.

Pſalms and Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture. London, by Thomas Berthelet, 1544. 12mo.

1. In the Library of Exeter College, at Oxford.
2. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
3. In the Library of Beriah Botfield, at Norton Hall, 5¼ in. by 3$\frac{1}{2}$, in crimſon velvet, with claſps.

Cotton's Liſt. 1821. 8vo. p. 55. 1852, p. 138.

John Byddel. London.

A goodly prymer, the englyſhe newly corrected and printed by John Byddel, for William Marſhal, xvi June. 1535. Quarto.

1. In the Library of Earl Spencer, the Mac Carthy Copy, in blue morocco.
2. In the Library of Emmanuel College at Cambridge.
3. Maſon's Copy, No. 107. Pt. III. in his Cat. 1798.

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4. Radcliffe's Copy, No. 1168, wanting the title and dedication, was in the poſſeſſion of Herbert. See his Typ. Antiq. I. 485.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. III. 389-392.
Bibl. Decameron. II. 360. III. 398.
Hartſhorne's Book Rarities, p. 377.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 150-1.
Cat. de Mac Carthy, I. 59. No. 359 and 360.

Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. London.

The Byble in Englyſh, by Tho. Cranmer, fyniſhed in Apryle anno 1539. 'a dño factū eſt iſtud.' 1540. Folio.

1. In the Britiſh Muſeum at London. Henry VIII.'s Copy.

2. In the Library of St. John's College, at Cambridge, 16¼ in. by 11. Vellum, very pure and fine. Four Titles and letters, illum. &c. The Lord Privie Seale Cromwell's Copy, with his Arms on the firſt and third Titles.

Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. III. p. 310-11, and 484-5.
Library Companion, p. 33.
Bibliophobia, p. 89.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 38-9.

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Cotton, Editions of the Bible, p. 6-7, and 117-18.
Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 30 and 113.
Lewis, Engl. Trans. of the Bible, p. 122-9.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 169-70.

Literary Gazette of Saturday, November 24, 1832. "State Papers, Henry VIII. Fol. lately publiſhed by Government, containing ſome curious letters on the ſubject of the expenſes of printing the Bible of 1539, at Paris, addreſſed to Cromwell, then Lord Privie Seale, in which the copies printing upon vellum for himſelf and for the King Henry VIII. are mentioned. The latter copy with a MS. note of preſentation by Anthony Maſter, &c. has the date of 1540 at the end of the book, though the Old Teſtament appears to be preciſely the ſame as the edition of 1539, which has the name of Grafton in the title-page, but the title of the vellum copy is illuminated, and the name is hidden by the painter. The Apocrypha and New Teſtament vary conſiderably in the two editions."

Thomas Davidſon. Edinburgh.

Hector Boece's Hyſtory and Chronikils of Scotland, tranſlatit by John Bellendene. Edinburgh, by me, Thomas Davidſon (1541). Folio.

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1. In the Library of the Univerſity of Edinburgh.
2. In the Library of the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace. James V.'s Copy, with his autograph.
3. In the Library of the Counteſs of Dyſart, at Ham Houſe, near Richmond.

Dibdin, Library Companion, p. 273-4.
Hartſhorne, Book Rarities, p. 424.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 217.

The new Actis and Conſtitutionis of Parliament, maid be James the fyft king of Scottis, 1535-1540. Folio. Imprentit in Edinburg, be me Thomas Davidſon. 1541.

In the Advocates Library, at Edinburgh.
Herbert's Ames' Typ. Antiq. III. 1474.
Dibdin, Library Companion, p. 273.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 244.

Richard Fawkes. London.

John Skelton, Garland, or Chapelet of Laurel. London, Richard Fawkes, 1523. Quarto.

" I heard it once aſſerted that it exiſted *upon vellum*, in Tom Martin's (of Palgrave) Library.

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If ſo, it never came to the hammer."—*Dibdin's Library Companion*, p. 661.

I doubt this hear-ſay evidence. B. B.

Cf. The Britiſh Bibliographer, IV. 389.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. III. 357-8.
Beloe's Anecdotes, I. 207.

Robert Crowley. London.

Robert Langland, The Viſion of Pierce Plowman, imprynted by Roberte Crowley. London. 1505 for 1550. Quarto.

1. In the Library of Earl Spencer.
2. In the Library of the Hon. Thomas Grenville in the Britiſh Muſeum.

Bibl. Harl. IV. 524. No. 10192.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. II. 184.
Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 274 and 355.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. IV. 329.

London.

The Letany, wyth certayne other devoute and godly meditations. 18mo. London, 1562.

In the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. IV. 26.
Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 346.

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Reginald Wolf. London.

Articuli, in Synodo Londinenſi ad firmandum in verâ Religione conſenſum, &c. editi anno 1562. 8vo. Londini apud Reginaldum Wolfium. 1563.

In the Royal Library at Paris. The Mead and Mac Carthy Copy.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Reprinted by Dr. Richard Rawlinſon.

Bibl. Mead, p. 239, No. 47.
Cat. de Mac Carthy, I. 76, No. 473.
Van Praet, Bibl. du Roi, I. 257.
Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 346.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. IV. 27-8.

John Daye. London.

Matthias Parker, Archiep. Cantuar. De Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Britannicæ. Londini, apud Joannem Daium. 1572. Folio.

1. Roger Twyſden's Copy, with the title only printed upon vellum, was in the Library of Sir Mark Sykes, Bart.

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2. Earl Spencer's Copy, at Althorp, has the two titles and the armorial leaf on vellum.

3. In the Britiſh Muſeum at London, is a copy with three leaves only on vellum.

Clarke, Rep. Bibl. p. 380.
Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. IV. 127.
Lowndes' Manual, p. 1402.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. IV. 126-9.

Richard Jugge. London.

The New Teſtament, the Biſhops' Tranſlation, reviſed by Abp. Parker. London, by Richard Jugge. 1576. Quarto.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with the Arms of Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, on the ſides, probably a preſentation copy.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 346.
Dibdin, Typ. Antiq. IV. 261.

Gabriel Simſon and William White. London.

Hugh Broughton. Concent of Scripture. Quarto. Imprinted at London, for Gabriell Simſon and William White. (1588.)

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1. The Dedication and Preſentation Copy to Queen Elizabeth, formerly in the Library at Sledmere and the Vicarage at Hendon.

2. Dr. Rawlinſon's Copy is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

3. The Mac Carthy Copy, ſold in 1789 by Edwards, Cat. p. 202, was probably that in the Collection of Mark Cephas Tutet, No. 86, ſold in 1786.

Sykes' Cat. 8vo. 1824, Pt. I. p. 32, No. 559.

Williams' Cat. 1827, 8vo. p. 25, No. 243.

Cat. de Mac Carthy, I. 21, No. 132.

Cotton, Typ. Gazetteer, p. 346-7.

Van Praet, Bibl. Publ. I. 41, No. 75; and IV. p. 8, p. 75.

Dibdin, Bibliomania, p. 531.

Herbert, Amer. II. 1265.

Lowndes' Manual, p. 268.

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The Book
Of the Prophet Moses.

The Hiſtory
Of the Prophet Moses.

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Preface to the Book of the Prophet Moses.

AMONG the manuſcripts at Parham there are ſeveral volumes which contain Apocryphal books of the Holy Scriptures, both of the old and new Teſtament, ſuch as the Books of Enoch, Aſenath, the Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs, and the book of Moſes profeſſing to belong to the Old Teſtament, and the Epiſtle of the Corinthians to St. Paul, the third Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, the letter of Abgarus, and other ſpurious works which are not admitted into the collection of the writers of the New Teſtament. Moſt of theſe

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curious productions have been publiſhed, but as the ſo-called Book of Moſes is unknown in Europe, I thought that the Editio princeps of a newly diſcovered Biblical work might be intereſting to the members of the Philobiblon Society.

The Book of the Converſation of God with Moſes is tranſlated by the Rev. E. Cureton to whom I beg to offer my grateful thanks, not only for this tranſlation, but alſo for the kind aſſiſtance which his learning and reſearch has often afforded me, in literary purſuits connected with oriental manuſcripts.

The Volume from which the Book of Moſes has been taken is an Arabic manuſcript, probably of the fifteenth century, written upon Charta Bombycina, or cotton paper: it is a thick quarto, containing many different religious treatiſes, compiled for the Chriſtians of the Coptic Church,

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which are themſelves probably tranſlations from more ancient manuſcripts in the Coptic language. It was purchaſed from a Coptic Prieſt at Cairo, in Egypt, in the year 1837.

The contents of this curious manuſcript are as follows:—

1. Extracts from the Proverbs of Solomon, with a commentary.

2. Sayings of the Sages, Ariſtotle, Socrates, Elias of Niſibis, and others.

3. Things typical of the Holy Trinity (ſuch as the names of Adam and Eve, which are each written with three letters, in Arabic, the three Patriarchs, &c. &c.).

4. Queſtions and anſwers of Locandas the ſage.

5. Teſtament of Lokman the ſage, and Jeſus the ſon of Sirach.

6. The Hiſtory of King Solomon,

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and Aſika, the wife of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach.

7. Certain faſts, and prayers.

8. On the cuſtom of girding the loins at the time of prayer. Of making the ſign of the croſs with one finger. Of carrying a ſtaff at the time of prayer. On the introduction of pictures and images into the Churches.

9. The ſecret converſation of Moſes with God on mount Sinai.

R. Curzon.

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The Book of
The Prophet Moses.

Here beginneth the Converſation between God and Moſes on Mount Sinai.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN Moſes the Prophet went up to Mount Sinai that his Lord might ſpeak with him before God gave him the Law which he revealed to him with the commandments therein for the children of Iſrael, and the ſtatutes, and the ordinances, and the laws that they ſhould obſerve them;

2 Then Moſes began to converſe with his Lord, and ſaid, Oh my Lord and my God, inſtruct me in that concerning which I am about to aſk thee.

3 The Lord ſaid to him, What is that? Oh Moſes! Moſes anſwered his God, Oh my Lord,

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He who ſatisfieth the hungry, what wilt thou give him as his reward for this?

4 The Lord ſaid to him, Oh Moſes, He that ſatisfieth the hungry, him will I ſatisfy for ever with my good things and with my Holy Spirit.

5 Moſes ſaid, And he who clotheth the naked, Oh Lord, what wilt thou give him for his reward?

6 The Lord ſaid to him, Oh Moſes, I will clothe him with a robe of light, and protect him from the fire of hell.

7 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, The man who turneth away the beggar from his door unrelieved, how wilt thou recompenſe him?

8 The Lord anſwered, Oh Moſes, I will thruſt him away from my Paradiſe and make him to dwell for ever in the fire of hell, nor will I ſuffer him to ſee the light.

9 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, He that beſtoweth water upon the traveller, what wilt thou give him for a reward?

10 The Lord ſaid to Moſes, I will give him to drink of the water of life, I will not ſuffer him to thirſt for ever, and I will deliver him from the flame of fire.

11 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, how wilt thou requite him who breaketh the heart of the orphan and the poor?

12 The Lord ſaid to Moſes, The man who breaketh the heart of the orphan and the poor, he breaketh my heart, and I will thruſt him to the fire of hell.

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13 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who giveth food and drink to the poor, who conſoleth and bindeth up his heart, and ſheweth kindneſs to him, how wilt thou recompenſe him in return for this?

14 The Lord ſaid to him, He ſhall be with me for what he has done, for this cauſe every one who doeth kindneſs to the poor I will beſtow upon him an inheritance in my Paradiſe, I will ſhew kindneſs to him in places of reſt in heaven, and I will cauſe him to inherit my kingdom which ſhall not paſs away for ever and ever.

15 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he that giveth grave-clothes to the dead when there is none to lament over him, how wilt thou recompenſe him in return for this?

16 The Lord ſaid, I will clothe him in a veſture of light divine; I will cover his iniquity and wipe out his tranſgreſſions.

17 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, and he who diggeth a grave for his brother among the faithful?

18 The Lord ſaid, I will cover him with a robe of the light of life, I will forgive his ſins and hide his tranſgreſſions, I will paſs over his wickedneſs and iniquities, and I will write his name in the book of life together with the patriarchs, and I will make my paradiſe his habitation.

19 Every one who refreſheth the body of the poor and ſheweth kindneſs towards him, him will I refreſh in my paradiſe as he refreſhed my ſervant.

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20 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, the man that walketh with the bier of the dead and burieth them in their graves, what wilt thou give to him in return?

21 God ſaid, I will write in the ſtead of every vice a virtue, and will forgive him all his ſins.

22 Moſes ſaid, He who prayeth in the night and humbleth himſelf before thee, nor ſleepeth, how wilt thou recompenſe him?

23 The Lord ſaid, I will cauſe him not to ſleep in the misfortunes of ſin even as I do not ſleep; I will make him awake for ever, and he ſhall live on the day of judgment.

CHAPTER II.

MOSES ſaid, Oh Lord, he that prayeth when the ſun riſeth over the earth, wilt thou not recompenſe him?

2 The Lord ſaid, I will give him for his reward remiſſion of his ſins and will write his name in the book of life, and I will write for him every lovely word.

3 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who prayeth at the third hour? The Lord ſaid, I will enlarge his ſubſtance, and the bleſſings of Abraham the friend ſhall be in his houſe.

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4 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, and he who prayeth at the ſixth hour, with what wilt thou recompenſe him?

5 God ſaid, Oh Moſes, I will make the gate of life open before him.

6 Moſes ſaid, He who prayeth at the ninth hour, how wilt thou reward him?

7 The Lord ſaid, There ſhall be nine bleſſings in his houſe, and I will multiply his ſubſtance in this world and in the next.

8 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who prayeth at ſunſet and at bed-time?

9 The Lord ſaid, I will hearken to his prayer, and will forgive his ſins and the ſins of his parents, and I will give him a lot and a portion in the kingdom of heaven for ever; darkneſs ſhall not overtake him,

10 But I will make him dwell for ever in my paradiſe, and he ſhall exult and rejoice in my kingdom.

11 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, and he who prayeth at midnight?

12 The Lord ſaid, Oh Moſes, I ſay to thee that every man who prayeth in the night, I will keep off from him the evils of the night; while he labours in my love I will give him his reward,

13 I will refreſh him in the world to come, and I will cauſe him to inherit everlaſting reſt and life eternal; and give him peace for ever in the kingdom of heaven.

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14 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, and he who lendeth to men his money, how wilt thou requite him?

15 God ſaid, Oh Moſes, I will repay him ten dirhems for one, and every man who doeth good to the poor and needy I will repay him in return for every dirhem a hundred dirhems;

16 And every man who doeth good to his friend, doeth it to me, and I will recompenſe him with my good things, I will ſave him from troubles and misfortunes; and whoſo doeth evil to his friend, I will bring upon him every evil and misfortune.

17 Then ſaid the Lord to Moſes, As ye are one towards another, even ſo will I be towards you;

18 If ye love one another, I will love you; if ye are merciful one to another, I will be merciful to you; and every one that bringeth evil upon his neighbour, I will bring upon him every evil and every misfortune.

19 Moſes ſaid, How wilt thou requite him, who is guilty of beſtiality?

20 God ſaid, Oh Moſes, if he be a man of full age and arrived at years of diſcretion let him faſt a full year, and let him give alms and repent in the manner appointed, and after this let him enter the church and let him be preſent at the maſs, and partake of the holy myſteries, and after this I will forgive him his ſins.

21 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, and if he be a little child?

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22 Then let his parents faſt for him three months, after this I will pardon his ſins.

23 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, and he who bringeth up the orphan and the poor, and giveth him drink, and is kind to him, how wilt thou recompenſe him in return for this?

24 God ſaid, For every kindneſs that he hath ſhewed I will write for him a thouſand in the day of reſurrection.

25 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who giveth any thing to the poor in alms? The Lord ſaid to Moſes, I will not refuſe him his reward.

26 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he that ſtealeth and committeth violence, and taketh away by violence men's ſubſtance?

27 God ſaid, I will bring upon him every evil and every misfortune and calamity, and whoſo taketh any thing from men by force, I will not ſuffer him to profit therefrom.

28 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, but if he repay that which he took away by violence?

29 God ſaid to Moſes, I will forgive him, but if he do not repay that which he took away either openly or ſecretly, and repent, I will command the angels of fire that they caſt upon his neck a chain of fire,

30 And bind him with the devils in hell; and torment him with dreadful torments without compaſſion and without mercy.

31 God ſaid, Whoſoever oppreſſeth men with violence I will caſt him, Oh Moſes, to hell and

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great torment, and I will bind him with a necklace of fire, and a chain of fire ſhall be upon his neck.

32 If he doth not repent and return, and reſtore to others that which belongs to them.

CHAPTER III.

AFTER this he commanded Moſes that he ſhould deſcend from the mountain,

2 And God ſaid to him, Go to the children of Iſrael and tell to them what thou haſt ſeen and heard, and that they keep my precepts and my laws for ever.

3 Then ſaid the Lord to Moſes, Oh Moſes, my ſpeaker and my prophet, after a little the time will come in which men muſt ſee me,

4 And I ſhall be like as one of them, and I will cure their diſeaſes, heal their wounds, and allay their pains;

5 I will open the eyes of thoſe who are blind among them, I will raiſe their dead,

6 And after this they will not believe in me, but will crucify me on the wood of a croſs.

7 For why ſhall I come down and deliver them? For thy father Adam's ſake; and I will reſtore him to paradiſe, and to happineſs and delight, nor will I ſuffer him always to remain in the fire of hell.

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8 For I in my might promiſed him when I had created him, and he had tranſgreſſed my commandment and fallen,

9 And I ſaid unto him, I will come after five days and a half and deliver thee;

10 Then he anſwered me, I will be grateful.

11 Then I called him, ſaying, Oh Adam, thou haſt tranſgreſſed my commandment, lift up thine eyes.

12 Then I ſaid to him, What ſeeſt thou? He ſaid, I ſee a tree ſtanding above my head.

13 Then I anſwered him and ſaid to him, Thou haſt ſpoken truth.

14 He ſaid, Oh Lord, this tree above my head is like a croſs.

15 Then I ſaid to him, Adam, lift up thine eyes on high.

16 Then he lifted up his eyes three times, and I ſaid to him, Doſt thou ſee upon this croſs of wood a man after my image and my likeneſs, crucified,

17 And his hands and his feet crucified and nailed to the wood, and a crown of thorns upon his head?

18 Oh Moſes, heaven and earth ſhall paſs away, but not one word of my word ſhall paſs.

19 All of this ſhall take place for the ſake of thy father Adam; yes, for thy ſake, Oh Adam, will I ſend my beloved ſon,

20 And my Word ſhall become incarnate from a virgin who ſhall be called Miriam,

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21 And he ſhall come in the likeneſs of a man, and he ſhall be crucified and die in the body, and ſhall be buried and riſe again on the third day,

22 And by his death, Oh Moſes, ſhall he reſcue thy father Adam, and deliver him from the fire of hell; him and all his ſeed who have ſunk into the loweſt depths of hell;

23 And I will reſtore him to Paradiſe, to the happineſs and the joy from which I caſt him out, when he ate of the tree and diſobeyed my commandment, and ate of the fruit of death,

24 Therefore I thruſt him from my Paradiſe and my happineſs when he had tranſgreſſed my commandment.

25 At the ſame time I promiſed him, Oh Moſes, that I would come and deliver him from hell fire.

26 Oh Moſes, thy father Adam, and Eve tranſgreſſed my commandment, and ate of the fruit of death, therefore were they thruſt from Paradiſe to have their inheritance with Satan.

CHAPTER IV.

OH Moſes, all theſe words ſhall come to paſs for thy father Adam, until five thouſand and five hundred years ſhall be accom-

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pliſhed, when I will go down and deliver them from hell fire.

2 And I will endure, Oh Moſes, for him, reviling, reproach, and mocking, and death, and ſpitting in the face, and nails in my hands and my feet;

3 And I will drink of vinegar and of gall, and they ſhall ſet a crown of thorns upon my head, and pierce my ſide with a ſpear, and ſhall kill me, and I ſhall die,

4 But I will raiſe up, Oh Moſes, thy father Abraham and his ſeed from the death of ſin, and I ſhall be buried, and I will riſe from the dead on the third day. And all the world ſhall wonder at this.

5 Then Moſes ſaid, Oh my Lord, he who revileth his parents and treateth them amiſs, and mocketh at them, and doth not liſten to their words?

6 The Lord ſaid, I will take vengeance upon him, and I will caſt him, Oh Moſes, into hell fire, even if he were Abraham the father of all the tribes.

7 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who lendeth his money and taketh no uſury, what wilt thou beſtow upon him?

8 The Lord ſaid to Moſes, I will multiply his wealth and cover his ſins, and write his name in the book of life, with the prophets and the ſaints, and juſt men.

9 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who letteth out

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his money upon uſury? The Lord ſaid, I will appoint him his portion with Cain, who ſlew his brother Abel, and I will torment him with dreadful torment.

10 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who maketh peace and good will among men, how wilt thou recompenſe him?

11 The Lord ſaid, He ſhall be beloved and honoured by me, and I will give him an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven.

12 Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, he who exciteth contention and hatred and ſtrife, how wilt thou requite him?

13 God ſaid, He ſhall be far off from me, I will withdraw all care from him. I will not invite him to enter into my Paradiſe, and he ſhall abide for ever in the fire of hell;

14 Underſtand therefore, Oh Moſes, that every one who ſhall deſpiſe one of my ſervants, him will I deſpiſe: but whoſoever honoureth one of my ſervants, he alſo honoureth me.

15 Oh Moſes, charge thy people the children of Iſrael with reſpect to the orphans and widows, and the poor, and the needy, and the deſolate, that they oppreſs them not,

16 For their weeping, and their cry entereth into my ears; and I will not ſuffer their cry and their diſtreſs.

17 Therefore let them return from the hardneſs of their heart, otherwiſe I will liſten to their cry, and I will let looſe my anger upon

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them, and I will cut them off from the leaſt to the greateſt.

18 Then God ſaid to the mountain, Be thou lifted up between the heaven and the earth.

19 Then he ſhowed to Moſes the heavens above him at the diſtance of a man's height, and he looked towards the earth and beheld it of the ſize of a dove's egg.

20 And God ſaid to Moſes, Oh Moſes, Moſes, I aſk thee what doſt thou deſire?

21 When he heard the voice of the Lord uttering theſe words he rejoiced with great joy and ſaid, Oh Lord, art thou far off or near? that I may come to thee.

22 When God heard theſe words he ſaid, I am above all, and yet I am under every thing and nothing is hid from me.

23 In every place is my name found, and in it do I dwell. In every place ſhalt thou ſeek for me and find me there.

24 Then Moſes ſaid to the Lord, Oh Lord, what is thy meat, and what is thy drink, and what is thy clothing?

25 The Moſt High God anſwered, My meat is the tears of ſinners when they weep over their ſins, my drink is the repentance of thoſe who repent of them, and my clothing is the praiſe of the angels and the thankſgiving of the ſouls of thoſe who have eſcaped from their iniquities.

26 Then Moſes ſaid to the Lord, Oh Lord,

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where didſt thou dwell before thou hadſt created the earth?

27 The Lord ſaid, Oh Moſes, I ſat upon my throne of glory.

28 Moſes ſaid, What was the throne, what was under the throne, and where waſt thou before the throne exiſted?

29 God whoſe name is glorious and exalted ſaid, As for the throne it was a fire from which ſhone forth light, and it was ſupported upon the ſhoulders of four angels,

30 The form of the firſt of which was like that of the ſon of Adam, the ſecond, like the form of a bull, the third like the figure of an eagle, and the fourth like a lion.

31 There was none above the throne but I only, the Creator of the heavens and the earth;

32 My ſervants are the angels and archangels, and the cherubim, and the ſeraphim, and all the hoſt of heaven.

CHAPTER V.

AND know, Oh Moſes, that this heaven is the firſt, in it is the ſun and the moon, and the ſtars, and above it is a ſea of water,

2 And above that the ſecond heaven, above which is a ſea of fire;

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3 Then the third heaven, above which is the throne of the Creator,

4 And in the throne are three hundred mouths, and in every mouth three thouſand tongues, and every tongue ſings praiſes with three thouſand voices,

5 And they magnify, and glorify, and ſanctify, and bleſs and worſhip my mighty name.

6 Nor is there one among them which reſembleth another, and in the midſt of them are the four angels which bear the throne,

7 And between each of them are thirty legions of cherubim and ſeraphim, and angels and archangels, thouſands of thouſands, and myriads of myriads whoſe number cannot be counted,

8 And theſe are praiſing and magnifying and worſhipping my mighty name without reſting and without ceaſing,

9 Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, the heaven and the earth are full of thy holy glory.

10 Then God ſaid to Moſes, All this haſt thou heard and ſeen, and I am he who created the heavens and the earth, and the rivers and the mountains.

11 Then Moſes ſaid, Oh Lord, whether is thy face turned to the Eaſt or to the Weſt, to the North or to the South?

12 The Lord ſaid to Moſes, Oh Moſes, art thou deſirous of knowing this? kindle therefore

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a fire before thee, and look upon it, and ſee which way its face is turned.

13 Then Moſes kindled a fire and looked upon it, but ſaw no face either within or without.

14 When Moſes beheld this he was aſtoniſhed and ſaid, Oh Lord, I beheld it the ſame in every place and on every ſide.

15 And the Lord ſaid to Moſes, After this manner I alſo fill the heavens and the earth, and the ſeas and the mountains.

16 I am in the height and in the depth, and over every thing; neither is there any place free from my preſence, except that unholy place where they know not my name, for there will I not abide.

17 Then Moſes ſaid to the Lord, Oh Lord, doſt thou ſleep or not?

18 The Lord ſaid to Moſes, I never ſleep; but take a cup and fill it with water.

19 Then Moſes took a cup and filled it with water, and held it in his hand as the Lord commanded him.

20 Then the Lord caſt into the heart of Moſes the breath of ſlumber, ſo he ſlept, and the cup fell from his hand, and the water which was therein was ſpilled.

21 Then Moſes awoke from his ſleep, and was overwhelmed with wonder and amazement.

22 Then ſaid God to Moſes, I declare by my power and by my glory, that if I were to withdraw my providence from the heavens and

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the earth for no longer a ſpace of time than thou haſt ſlept, they would at once have fallen to ruin and confuſion like as the cup fell from thy hand.

23 Then Moſes ſaid to the Lord, I deſire that I may ſee thee with my eyes.

24 The Lord ſaid to Moſes, Thou art not able, Oh Moſes.

25 Then the prophet Moſes anſwered, I muſt ſee thee with my eyes in order that when I tell the children of Iſrael that I have converſed with thee, and ſeen thee, I may ſpeak the truth.

26 Then Moſes prayed, bowing himſelf down ten times before the Lord.

27 Afterwards he looked toward the heavens and beheld, and lo, the heavens were opened, and he ſaw a little of the light divine!

28 Then Moſes fell upon his face, and covered his eyes not being able to look upon the Creator whoſe might is glorious.

29 And after he had recovered from his trance, Moſes ſaid;

30 Oh my Lord and my God, by thy might and thy glory no one hath beheld thy greatneſs and thy eſſence, yet the pure in heart underſtand and praiſe thee for thy juſtice and thy glory.

31 Then he ſaid to him, Oh Moſes, I will raiſe with me Adam and his ſeed, and I will cauſe them to inherit the kingdom of heaven;

32 But as for the Jews I will ſcatter them

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throughout all the world, and I will diſperſe them into every city,

33 And I will take from them the kingdom, and they ſhall be hated beyond all other people, and nations, and tribes.

34 Bleſſed therefore are they, Oh Moſes, who believe in me; and woe, yea, woe to thoſe who believe not.

35 Then the Lord commanded Moſes that he ſhould go down from Mount Sinai,

36 And ſhould put a veil over his face on account of the brightneſs of the light which ſhone upon it,

37 And that he ſhould ſpeak to the children of Iſrael, and inform them reſpecting all that the Lord had ſpoken.

38 To him is due the glory and the honour, and greatneſs, and power, and praiſe, and dominion; to thee and to thy righteous Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, to ages of ages and eternity of eternity. Amen.

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Preface to the Hiſtory of the Life and Death of the Prophet Moses.

THE following pages may be taken as a kind of Appendix to the Tranſlation of the Book of Moſes. They contain a ſeries of legends and hiſtories, chiefly handed down by oral tradition, among the Egyptian Coptic Chriſtians and the Bedouin Arabs, of the peninſula of Gebel el Tour, or Mount Sinai. Some few of theſe traditions are tranſlated from books of rare occurrence, and have been inſerted for the purpoſe of keeping up a continuous narrative of the legendary Hiſtory of the greateſt of the Prophets. Several paſſages will

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be found to convey beautiful and original ideas; and, in the deſcription of the death of Moſes, the legend riſes to the ſublime.

Pilgrims and travellers in the Holy Land have frequently offered to them ſmall drinking cups, made of the black rock, upon which the Angel Zamiel is ſaid to have ſtood. It is ſuppoſed that poiſon will loſe its effect if it is preſented in one of theſe veſſels. Several paſſages in the Koran appear to have been founded on other parts of the tradition, which, altogether, preſents a curious picture of Oriental manners and cuſtoms; which, I truſt, may appear as intereſting to ſome perſons as they were to me, when I firſt compiled them on the banks of the myſterious Nile, before Egypt had been overrun with travellers, and when the deſerts which ſurround it were almoſt untrodden ſoil.

R. CURZON.

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The Hiſtory of
The Prophet Moses.

IN the year 506, from the time when the waters of the deluge retired from the face of the earth. In the year 2467, before the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. In the reign of Manongeher, the king of Perſia, who was the ſeventh king of the firſt dynaſty of Perſia. In the reign of Valid, Sultan of Egypt, there was born in the city of Herment, in the Said (Upper Egypt), a child, whoſe name was called Mouſſa (Moſes); he was the ſon of Amram, the ſon of Cahath, the ſon of Laoui, the ſon of Caath, the ſon of Levi, the ſon of Jacob; and his mother's name was Nagiah, and ſhe was of the daughters of the children of Iſrael.

Now Aſiah, the niece of Amram, the father of Moſes, was married to Pharaoh Valid, the king of Egypt (miſr); and Amram ſtood before the throne of Valid, among the mighty men of the kingdom of Egypt.

And it came to paſs that a Decree went forth from the king, even from the Palace of

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Memphis, that all the male children of the Iſraelites ſhould be deſtroyed; and it was commanded to the midwives of Egypt to kill the males that ſhould be born to that people. But Nagiah had concealed her firſtborn ſon, whoſe name was Aaron (Haroun); and when ſhe had another ſon ſhe laid him in a cradle made of the reeds of the papyrus, and placed it in the river Nile; the ſtream of the river brought down the cradle to the walls of the palace of Valid, in the city of Thebes, which was the chief city of Upper Egypt. Now the ſeven daughters of the king were lepers, and they went down to the river to bathe, when they found a box of papyrus reeds, ſmeared with aſphaltum, which the waves had waſhed up upon the ſhore; one of the princeſſes having opened the box, found a young child in it, and on touching him with her hand, immediately her leproſy departed from her; and her ſix ſiſters having alſo touched the child, were cured by the ſame means. And they took the child with them on their return to the palace; and when they ſtood before the king, their father, their beauty was ſo much increaſed, that he knew them not; but on their relating to him the miraculous nature of their recovery from their terrible diſeaſe, the king permitted them to bring up the infant in the palace; and the daughters of Valid adopted the child as their own, and kept it within the walls of the women's

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apartments; and they called his name Moſes (Mouſſa), which is being interpreted, ſaved from the waters.

Now on a certain day Pharaoh Valid took the child Moſes upon his knee to play with him, when Moſes, in play, pulled off the covering of the king's beard, which was of black linen ſet with jewels; and thoſe who ſtood before the king, ſaid unto him, As this child hath pulled off the covering of the king's beard now that he is young, ſo will he deſpoil the kingdom when he grows up. And they counſelled the king that he ſhould be ſlain; but another counſellor ſaid, that he ſhould be pardoned, becauſe he was too young as yet to know right from wrong; but a third counſellor ſaid, There is in this child ſomething miraculous and uncommon; cauſe, therefore, a burning coal and a ruby ring to be ſet before him, and if he takes the ring it will ſhow that he knows right from wrong, and then let him be deſtroyed, leſt he ſhould ſpoil the kingdom of Egypt; but if he takes up the burning coal, it will ſhow that he is too young to know right from wrong, and then let his life be ſpared. Then the king ſaid, Let the hot burning coal and the king's ſignet ring (which was a large ſhining ruby,) be placed ſide by ſide, and we ſhall ſee what the child will do. And immediately the child ſtretched forth his hand to take the ſignet ring, but the angel Gabriel turned

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his hand aſide; and the child Moſes took up the burning coal, and put it to his mouth, and his tongue was burned therewith, ſo that he was unable afterwards to ſpeak diſtinctly, even to the end of his days.

And the name of the firſt counſellor who adviſed the death of Moſes, was Job; and his children periſhed in his lifetime; and the name of the ſecond counſellor was Jethro, who had adviſed that Moſes ſhould be ſpared, and to him was accorded the honour of giving his daughter to the greateſt of the Prophets; and the name of the third counſellor was Lot; and becauſe he had been the cauſe of riſking the life of Moſes, through his ſpecious counſel of the ruby ring and the burning coal, therefore was the city wherein he dwelt, and all his goods that were in his houſe, deſtroyed by burning coals of fire.

But Moſes remained in the palace of Valid till he was forty-one years old; and in that year he killed an Egyptian, who was illtreating one of the children of Iſrael, and he was obliged to fly from the kingdom of Egypt to ſave his own life. And he fled into Arabia, where he was received by Schoaib, the high prieſt of the people of the plains, who gave him his daughter Tſaora in marriage, and he remained in Arabia. But after a certain time his ſoul deſired to behold his mother Nagiah, and his brother Aaron, and he ſet out on his return to the land of Egypt.

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And ſoon after he had begun his journey towards Egypt, he paſſed over the river Aimen; and on the banks of the river he found a robe, ſuch as were worn by the Prophets of old, and alſo a ſtaff; and having taken the ſtaff in his hand, and clothed himſelf in the robe which he had found, he received the gift of Prophecy. And immediately the Angel of the Lord appeared to him; and he fell upon his face, and he heard the voice of the Lord, which ſaid unto him: Ariſe, and go into Egypt, and inſtruct Valid, the king, in the religion of the one only God; and demand of him the liberty of the children of Iſrael, whom he hath reduced to ſervitude, ſo that they may return to the land of Canaan, to reſume poſſeſſion of the territories of their anceſtors.

But Moſes was afraid; and he anſwered the Angel of the Lord, and ſaid: Oh! my lord, how ſhall I go to the palace of Pharaoh, for I have been obliged to fly from Egypt, and I thought to return ſecretly; but if I appear before the king he will ſlay me, for the life of the Egyptian whom I ſlew when he illtreated the ſon of Iſrael. And the Angel of the Lord ſaid, Thy Lord will protect thee, and will give thee a ſign to ſhow the king that thou comeſt from the King of kings, the Lord of lords, the Holy One of Iſrael; now, therefore, place thy hand in the breaſt of thy gown. And Moſes did ſo. And the Angel ſaid, With-

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draw thy hand; and he did ſo. And the appearance of his hand was white and ſhining, and a great light ſhone out from it; and he placed his hand again in the breaſt of his gown, and withdrew it a ſecond time, and the hand remained without the light as it had been at firſt. And the Angel ſaid unto him, This ſhall be a ſign unto thee, and unto Pharaoh, king of Egypt, when thou ſtandeſt before him; and if this ſign ſhall fail, other ſigns ſhall be added unto thee; therefore go thy way as the Lord hath commanded thee, and fear not.

And Moſes departed, and came again into the land of Egypt, and becauſe of the infirmity of his ſpeech, he took with him his brother Aaron, to ſpeak for him with Pharaoh and with the great men of Egypt. And Pharaoh Valid ſat in his palace upon a throne of gold, and all men bowed the head before his feet: and Pharaoh was inflated with pride; and he ſaid to himſelf, Am I not a god? Who is there among the gods who is like unto me? Behold! I am a God, and am equal with all gods.

Now, the evil one was there behind the throne of gold, and he liſtened to the words which Pharaoh Valid had ſpoken in his heart, and he repented him, and he ſaid unto himſelf, Alas, that I had not tempted Adam with the deſire of being a god. Though I overcame him only with the hopes of being wiſe; but ſurely the pride of this man exceedeth even his folly.

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And the Angel Gabriel alſo had ſeen the thoughts of Pharaoh, and he ſtood before him in the form of a poor and humble man; and he ſaid, O king, hear the words of a poor man; and the king ſaid, Say on. And the Angel Gabriel ſaid: A certain great man had a ſlave of mean origin, whom, out of the kindneſs of his heart, he elevated and diſtinguiſhed above his fellows, ſo that there was nothing which this ſlave could want, which his maſter had not given unto him; but the ſlave, puffed up with the greatneſs of his good fortune, betrayed his maſter, joined in a rebellion againſt him, and endeavoured to ſet aſide his maſter, ſo that he, his ſlave, might be lord and maſter in his ſtead. Oh king, what ſhall be done unto him? And Pharaoh was indignant at the ingratitude and the preſumption of the ſlave; and he wrote out and ſigned with his ſeal a paper of condemnation, which he gave unto the Angel Gabriel, not knowing him. And his ſentence was, that the ſlave ſhould be thrown into the ſea, and drowned. And the Angel ſaid, Behold! I will take the paper, and I will preſent thy ſentence to this ungrateful ſlave.

And the keepers of the gates ſpake unto the officers, and the officers to the attendants who ſtood before Pharaoh. And they ſaid, Behold! Moſes and Aaron ſtand at the king's gate; and Pharaoh ſaid, Let them ſtand before the king. And Moſes and Aaron ſtood

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before the king; and Aaron explained their errand, and deſired, in the Name of the moſt Higheſt, that power ſhould be given them to lead out the children of Iſrael from the land of Egypt, with their flocks and their herds, to take poſſeſſion of the inheritance of their forefathers in the land of Iſrael.

But Pharaoh ſaid, Behold! when ambaſſadors are ſent from any prince or king to the court of another ſovereign, they bring with them credentials from their lord; but ye ſay that ye are ſent from God. Now ambaſſadors are provided with letters of credence from their ſovereigns; but when a Prophet comes from God, it muſt be by miracles that his truth is known.

Then Moſes drew forth his hand, which was concealed in the breaſt of his robe, and a great light ſhone from it, bright as the ſun, ſo that Pharaoh could not look upon it. And he ſaid unto Moſes, Put thy hand again into thy robe, for I cannot look upon it. Nevertheleſs Pharaoh believed not Moſes; for he ſaid, It is a deceit of chemiſtry, and could not the magicians of Egypt do the ſame? And he ſaid unto Moſes, Behold! I am not ſatisfied that thou art a meſſenger from God, and therefore will I not liſten to thy demands; I muſt have ſome better proof of the truth of thy miſſion from the Lord.

Moſes, therefore, taking the rod which he

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held in his hand, and which he had found on the banks of the river, threw it down upon the ground; and immediately there ſtood in its place a terrible and enormous dragon, which opened its mouth widely, and, turning round, fixed its eyes immoveably on Pharaoh Valid. Upon this, fear and trembling came upon Pharaoh and his courtiers, and they prayed earneſtly to Moſes to cauſe the dragon to diſappear. And Moſes went up to the dragon and took it by the head, and it returned again into the form of a ſimple wand. Valid, upon this, recovered his courage, and aſked Moſes if he could produce any other ſign, as without ſome further proof of the truth of his miſſion, he would not give an edict for the children of Iſrael to depart.

But nevertheleſs Moſes having departed from the preſence of the king; Valid, having beheld the miracles of the Prophet, took counſel with his miniſters, and deliberated concerning the demand of Moſes to lead out the children of Iſrael from the captivity in which they were held in the land of Egypt; but as the loſs of their labour would be felt by their rulers, it was agreed in council that the wiſe men and the magicians of the land of Said (Upper Egypt), ſhould be aſſembled together to oppoſe the power of the ſon of Amram; and if their enchantments prevailed, then would they retain the children of Iſrael in captivity for ever.

Then from the towers of the gate ſet forth

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the heralds and the meſſengers to collect all the magicians and the ſorcerers, and the wiſe men of Egypt, who were in number ſeventy thouſand magicians; and they aſſembled before the court of the palace of Valid, at Monf (Memphis), which was the capital or metropolis of Middle Egypt. And behold, the chiefs of all the magicians were Sabour and Gadour, and Graath, and Mosfa, and Simeon, the High Prieſt of the temples of the gods of Egypt, and Sovereign Pontiff of their Faith. And Sabour and Gadour dwelt in the Said; and before they ſet out upon their journey towards the north, they ſtood before the door of the ſepulchre of their father, according to the words of their mother, which ſhe commanded them to do; and they lifted up their voices, and called upon the name of their father, who was numbered with the dead. And they inquired of their father's ſhade, and they queſtioned him concerning the ſucceſs of the undertaking which they were about to commence. And Sabour and Gadour ſtood before the door of the tomb from the riſing till the ſetting of the ſun; but they heard no voice, and there was ſilence among the dwellings of the dead. And another day they came again, towards ſunſet, and they ſtood before the door of the tomb from the ſetting of the ſun till ſunriſe, and there was ſilence among the dwellings of the dead; and they faſted and offered up ſacrifice to the gods of the Egyptians. And they

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returned again, and they ſtood at the riſing of the ſun before the door of their father's tomb, and there was ſilence among the dwellings of the dead; but at midday, when the light was bright, and the ſun was burning in the heavens above their head, and all nature was ſtill,—in the heat, in the middle of the day, they were aware of a low and quiet voice, even as the voice of their father, which ſpake to them from their father's tomb. And the voice ſaid, My ſons, as ſoon as ye ſhall arrive at the court of Pharaoh, the king, inquire and make ſure, that ye may know whether when the two men who have arrived in Egypt are aſleep, their ſtaff is changed into a dragon to guard them in their ſleep, for the enchantments of a magician have no power while the magician ſleeps; but if it is otherwiſe, no living creature can reſiſt the two men, for then their power is of God.

And Sabour and Gadour departed on their journey, and arrived at the city of Monf; and conforming to the precepts of their father, which he had ſpoken to them from the tomb, they inquired and made ſure as to the things which he had told them. And they were aſtoniſhed when they found that the wand of the two brothers became a dragon of a fierce and terrible aſpect, and guarded them when they went to reſt, and allowed no one to approach their perſons.

And they were troubled at the appearance of

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the watchful dragon; but nevertheleſs they took counſel with the prieſts of the idols, and the magicians of Egypt, and they prepared certain flexible wands which they filled with quick-ſilver. And when they were called again before the throne of Valid, they threw theſe wands upon the ground; and the pavement being greatly heated with the rays of the ſun, the rods of the magicians twiſted and turned about, and the multitude of the Egyptians who were aſſembled were aſtoniſhed. But their ſurpriſe was turned into fear when Moſes threw down his rod upon the pavement before the throne, for in an inſtant its form was changed into that of a huge and mighty dragon, who devoured the wands of the Egyptian magicians, and lifting itſelf up, looked around, as it were, for more food to devour; ſo that in their terror the king, and the nobles, and the magicians, and the multitude, fled away, and Moſes and Aaron alone remained: but Moſes taking the dragon by the head, it became a wand as it was before. And Sabour and Gadour upon the occurrence of this prodigy, recognized the power of the true God, and fell down and worſhipped the God of Moſes, whoſe Prophet they believed him to be, even in the preſence of Valid, although he had commanded that no God ſhould be worſhipped except himſelf. Therefore, Pharaoh decreed that the hands and feet of Sabour and Gadour ſhould be cut off, and their bodies hung upon

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gibbets on the banks of the Nile; for he ſaid, that they had been bribed by Moſes and Aaron, the truth of whoſe miſſion he denied altogether.

Now, during the whole of his reign, Pharaoh Valid had employed the children of Iſrael in building a prodigious tower, the top of which reached almoſt to the clouds; and in his anger againſt the God of Moſes, he mounted to the ſummit of the tower, and hurled a javelin againſt the ſky; but the javelin came down covered with blood, and the magicians and ſoothſayers debated together as to the meaning of ſo extraordinary an occurrence, and while ſome declared that Valid had ſlain the God of the Iſraelites, others thought that it was an omen portending evil and diſaſter to the king, and the kingdom of Egypt.

But after many days, Pharaoh felt in his heart that he had no power over the two Prophets of the Lord, and he gave them leave to depart. And Moſes was at the head of the armies of Iſrael, whoſe number amounted to ſix hundred thouſand men; and the Egyptians, terrified at the portents and misfortunes which had happened to their land, lent the Iſraelites both clothes and jewels, as they ſaid that they muſt make a good appearance when they offered up their ſacrifice to their God in the deſert, to which they were turning their ſteps. And Pharaoh repented that he had let them go.

The multitude of the Iſraelites, under the

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command of Moſes, reached the ſhores of the ſea of Calzoum, when they were overtaken by the army of Egypt, headed by the king, who was determined to bring them back again into ſlavery. Then Moſes ſtretched forth his wand, and the waters of the ſea were divided; and the Beni Iſrael, with all their baggage, paſſed over in ſafety to the other ſide, and behind them rode the Angel Gabriel mounted on a mare. But when Valid had arrived on the ſea ſhore, and ſaw the waters opened, and the children of Iſrael paſſing through, he forbore to follow them, as he miſtruſted the dangerous paſſage; but his horſe, attracted by the mare, ruſhed into the open ſpace, and carried Pharaoh into the middle of the ſea, when the waters returning, the king and his horſe were overwhelmed by the waves. Finding himſelf in this extremity, he put up his prayers to God, and repeated the confeſſion of faith under three different forms, either of which would have been ſufficient to ſave his ſoul under ordinary circumſtances. Now, however, the Angel Gabriel appeared to Pharaoh on the water, and told him that his confeſſion came too late; and ſhowing him the paper to which he had attached his ſignature many days before, he ſaid, Behold! by thine own judgment thou art condemned; for thou art the ungrateful ſlave, and there is no god but God.

The children of Iſrael, although they arrived

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ſafely on the further ſhores of the ſea of Calzoum, were ſtill afraid they ſhould be followed by the armies of Valid. When they beheld floating upon the waves, the body of that impious king clad in his armour of ſteel, and ſeeing the miracle of the body floating on the water clad in weighty armour, they felt aſſured of the protection of the Almighty, and recovered from their feelings of alarm. The Egyptians, who would not believe in the death of their king, declared to the army that he had paſſed over to an iſland of the ſea, for the purpoſe of catching wild birds. But the winds and the waves bore his corpſe back towards the ſhore of Egypt, and then they could no longer doubt that Valid Pharaoun was dead.

Now the children of Iſrael were encamped on the Arabian ſhore of the ſea of Calzoum, when behold the prophet Khizzer (Enoch or Edris) appeared before them and undertook to be their guide on their march through the deſert of El Tour, and under his direction they took their way through the mountains called Jebel El Tour Sinai, and they encamped in a certain valley, at the foot of the mountains; and it happened here that the Prophet Moſes requiring of the people that they ſhould pay into the Treaſury a tenth part of their goods, they all agreed to do ſo except Caroun, the ſon of Maſaab the Alchemiſt.

Caroun by the power of the ſcience of Al-

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chémé, which he had learned in Egypt had amaſſed prodigious wealth, and he waxed proud and rebellious, for he was a mighty man and a chief among the Beni Iſrael; he ſtood up in rebellion againſt Moſes, and ſpread evil reports and calumnies againſt the Prophet, for he gave out that Moſes intended to deſpoil the people of their money and leave them to deſtruction in the deſert.

But Moſes prayed to the Lord to defend him againſt the rebellion of Caroun, and the Lord commanded the earth to obey the words of the Prophet; ſo the earth opened the firſt time, and ſwallowed up all the riches of Caroun; and the earth opened a ſecond time, and devoured his tents and his horſes, and his family alive; and again it opened the third time and took in Caroun himſelf within its jaws. Now Caroun when he found himſelf ſtanding up to his knees in the earth through which his family had ſunk, prayed three times for pardon to Moſes; but the Prophet was inexorable, and the earth ſwallowed Caroun alive, and he was numbered with the dead.

Then ſpake the Prophet Khizzer and ſaid, Behold it is a good thing to be in the hands of God, for this man prayed three times to another man, and he hath not forgiven him; but he is forgiven who prays only once to God. The Lord he is God, there is no other God but him.

When the armies of Iſrael were arrived at

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the foot of the mountain of Horeb, the power of the Lord called up the Prophet Moſes, even unto the top of the mountain, upon which it pleaſed the Lord to dwell; and Moſes went up, and the people ſtood below, and he entered into the preſence of the Lord, and the people awaited his return.

But Moſes remained upon the mountain for a long while, and the people trafficked with each other for the jewels which they had borrowed of the Egyptians; and ſome ſold what they had, and others bought of them, for the quantity of the gold which they had brought out into the deſert was great.

Then aroſe Sameri al Kharaithi (the Turner), a chief of the people, who ſpake to Aaron, the brother of the Prophet, who commanded the armies in his abſence; and he ſaid, O Brother of the Prophet, is it right that the people ſhould buy and ſell, and traffic with the things which they have borrowed, but which are not their own; for behold, thy ſervants trade with each other for the ſake of gain, for the bracelets and the necklaces which were lent them by the people of Chémé. And Aaron, the brother, ſaid, It is not lawful that the people ſhould trade in theſe things; and he commanded that they ſhould be brought to him, and flung into a heap upon the ground; and he ordered Sameri to melt them with fire, for he was learned in the working of metals, and commanded them to

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wait for the return of Moſes, to know what ſhould be done with thoſe things. So Sameri took all the jewels of gold, and the jewels of ſilver, and of other metals, and he melted them in the furnace into a maſs, that they might remain till the return of the Prophet, when he ſhould decide what ſhould be done with it: but when the metal which had been brought from Egypt was taken from the furnace, it was found that it had of its own accord aſſumed the ſhape of a calf, and the people beheld it, and were aſtoniſhed; and Sameri alſo was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and he took of the duſt which he had gathered from under the feet of Khizzer, the guide, who went before the armies of the Lord, and he threw it into the mouth of the calf; and when the calf felt the duſt which came from under the footſteps of the guide enter into his mouth and noſtrils, he opened his eyes and moved, and life was given him, and he roared and bellowed as a calf; then the people who were aſtoniſhed before, fell down and worſhipped the calf, for they ſaid, Great is the power of Alchémé, moſt noble are the gods of the Egyptians; and they worſhipped the golden calf at the foot of the mountain, which is called Gebel el Tour (Sinai).

After theſe things had happened, Moſes the Prophet came down from the rocky mountain, and a bright light ſhone from his forehead, and he brought with him ſeven tables of Emerald;

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each table was of the height of twelve cubits, and on them was written the words of the law, by the finger of the Moſt High; and the tables were tranſparent, ſo that the writing might be read from both ſides; but when the noble Prophet beheld the people that they worſhipped the calf, the idol of gold at the foot of the mountain of Sinai, in his anger he threw down the tables of the law upon the rock, and they were broken; but the Angels of the Lord deſcended and gathered together the pieces of the tables which were broken, and carried them again into the firſt heaven; but one piece only remained of the bigneſs of a cubit in length, and this was preſerved to the children of Iſrael in the ark of the Holy Covenant.

But ſome of the Iſraelites doubted the truth of the holy Prophet, and they ſaid, that he had written the words of the law, and that the law was not of God. But the Moſt High commanded that ſeventy men of the elders of the twelve tribes ſhould be choſen to go up into the mountain with the Prophet, that with their own ears they might hear the negative and affirmative precepts of the law, for by reaſon of their incredulity, anger came forth againſt the people from the mighty Treaſury of the heavens.

And the ſeventy elders went up into the tops of the high mountain, and when they had arrived at the ſummit a thick and dark cloud covered them, and ſeparated the ſeventy elders

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from the Prophet; and they proſtrated themſelves upon the ground, and fear and trembling came upon them, and they heard the voice of the Moſt High, which ſpoke with his holy Prophet; but ſtill, although they heard the voice of God, they continued in their unbelief; although they heard both the negative and affirmative precepts, yet ſtill they changed not the hardneſs of their hearts. And they ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying, We have certainly heard words, but we know not from whence they proceed, for the dark cloud prevented us from ſeeing; now, therefore, if thou doſt deſire that we ſhould believe, ſhow us this God of whom thou ſpeakeſt, for if we do not ſee his face, then we will not believe.

Then was the anger of the Lord kindled againſt the ſeventy elders of Iſrael; and a fearful wind aroſe, and there was an earthquake and darkneſs, and a roaring and a great noiſe, and the noiſe increaſed, and became greater and greater, and was exceeding terrible; and dreadful fear came upon the people of Iſrael who heard the howling of the ſtorm, and the loud noiſe which went on increaſing upon the tops of the mountains; and the thunder rolled among the hills, and the mighty ſound thereof waxed louder and louder, and when men looked upon each other, they beheld their faces that they were pale, and fear came over them; for the earth ſhook, the mountains trembled, and the

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rocks fell down in the earthquake and were broken on the rocks below; moreover, the valleys were overflowed with the torrents which came down from the gullies of the hills, and the fury of the tempeſt was poured out upon the mountains till darkneſs was ſpread over the face of the earth; the tents of the encampment were blown down, and the goods of the people ſcattered to the wind; and they ſat upon the ground in the plain, for they dared not approach the mountain, leſt the rocks ſhould fall upon them, and upon their children.

Then there came forth a flame of fire, and the darkneſs was diſpelled by the power of the flames; and evil angels were let looſe againſt the ſeventy elders of Iſrael, and they were deſtroyed in an inſtant together, the fire conſumed their bodies, and the ſummit of Mount Sinai was melted in the fervent heat through the might of the burning flame.

And the names of the unbelievers were eraſed from the pages of the book of life. The ſtorm ceaſed; the dark clouds became white as wool, and they were rolled away from the ſummits of the holy mountain, and as the bright light of day broke forth once more from the immeaſurable ſpace of heaven, Moſes the Prophet, "the man who ſpoke with God," (kalam Allah) ſtood unharmed before the people, whoſe armies he had led forth from the bondage of the land of Egypt.

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And Moſes wrote the words of the law upon the table of emerald which had been preſerved in the ark, after the pieces that were broken were taken up again into heaven by the angels; and afterwards he gathered around him certain diſcreet perſons and mighty men of Iſrael, and related to them the words which were ſpoken to him on the mountain by the Lord whoſe name is too holy to be pronounced by the lips of his creatures.

The children of Iſrael who had murmured and rebelled before for food, and who had riſen alſo againſt the authority of the prieſthood, now murmured again for water; they were weary of the deſert, and they ſighed at the recollection of the blooming valley of the Nile; therefore the Lord commanded the Prophet to ſpeak to the rocky mountain and ſaid, that at the voice which had ſpoken with God the waters would guſh forth and brighten with their ſtreams the duſty gorges of El Tour. But Moſes was wroth with his brother Aaron, becauſe of the idolatry of the people, and becauſe of the diſſatisfied ſpirit of the ſons of Iſrael; and forgetting the commands of the Lord, he lifted up his hand and with his ſtaff he ſmote a looſe rock which had fallen from the mountain to the place near where he ſtood, and when he ſmote it, there guſhed forth a ſtream, which bubbling out by the top of the ſtone, fell over the ſide thereof, and trickled in a refreſhing rivulet which flowed

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down the valley over the rocks, and out into the open plain below, among the tents of the camp; and there was abundance of water, and no water is lighter than this which Moſes drew forth from the rock of ſtone.

But the voice of the Lord penetrated to the underſtanding of the Prophet, and it ſaid unto his ſoul, For that thou haſt diſobeyed my voice, and that thou haſt not done what was commanded unto thee to do, thou ſhalt not enter into the land of thy fathers, thou ſhalt behold that pleaſant land, but thou ſhalt not ſet thy foot therein.

Now the armies of Iſrael arrived on the borders of the land of their fathers, and encamped around the foot of Piſgah: and Moſes and his ſervant Joſhua aſcended into the mountain, for the time was come that was appointed for Moſes that he ſhould die.

And the word of the Lord came unto Moſes and ſaid, Oh Moſes, thou haſt three hours to live; therefore Moſes wrote down all the words of the law upon a book for the guidance of his ſervant Joſhua, who was to ſucceed him in the command of the armies of Iſrael. And the word of the Lord came unto Moſes and ſaid, Oh Moſes, thou haſt two hours to live; and Moſes went on writing the words of the Law as he ſat upon the mountain with his face turned towards the weſt, and the people of Iſrael were ſorrowful, for they knew that they ſhould

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ſee their Prophet no more. For before that time no one had ariſen on the earth ſo great as Moſes, and he was the glory and the ſtay of Iſrael.

But the word of the Lord came unto him again towards evening, and ſaid, Oh Moſes, thou haſt but one hour to live. And the angels of the Lord gathered themſelves together, and they ſtood round about the throne of light.

Then the Lord ſpake unto his angels, Gabriel, Michael and Zinghiel, and commanded them to go down upon the earth to receive the ſpirit of the noble Prophet. And the earth opened her mouth, and cried for the body of Moſes, for man is of the earth, his body is but duſt, of the earth he is, and unto the earth ſhall his body return when the breath of life ſhall ceaſe, to be mingled again with the ground from which Adam and his race were taken in the beginning. Thus the earth cried unto the Lord.

And Zamiel, the angel of death, aroſe and ſtood up before the throne of light, he lifted up his voice, and ſaid, The body of Moſes is mine: is Moſes more worthy than Abraham, or Iſaac, or Jacob, and they have not eſcaped from my hands; deliver therefore unto me the body of Moſes the Prophet. But the Lord ſaid, All theſe were not like unto Moſes, for in what manner wilt thou lead the ſpirit of Moſes before my throne? by his head? for with his mouth he hath ſpoken with the Lord face to face; or

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by his hand? for thoſe hands received the tables of the law from the Creator of all things; or by his feet? for thoſe feet threw off their ſhoes to ſtand upon the holy ground when the God of Iſrael ſpoke to him from the burning buſh: thou canſt have no power over any of theſe members of his body.

But Zamiel anſwered and ſaid, Behold, I will go down and ſeize upon his ſoul. And taking his ſword in his hand he went, full of cruelty and anger, and ſtood before Moſes exultingly (lætiſſimus). Now the Prophet having come to an end of writing the words of the holy law, and having written at the end thereof the ineffable name of God, he lifted up his eyes and he beheld the terrible appearance of the angel Zamiel who ſtood before him, but the eyes of Moſes ſhone like ſparks of fire, and he ſeemed like an angel of the Lord. And Zamiel was troubled, and he ſpake not as he ſtood before him. Moſes therefore cried unto the Lord and ſaid, Oh Lord, deliver me not over into the power of the angel of death. And the Lord ſaid, Oh Moſes, fear not for thy ſoul, or for thy body, for I myſelf will take thy ſoul, and my angels ſhall take charge of thy body when thy ſoul hath departed from it. And Zamiel departed, and again a ſecond time he ſtood before the throne of light, and he ſaid, Give me power over thy prophet Moſes; and leave was given him to ſpeak again unto him. And Zamiel

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returned, and cried, Oh Moſes, the Lord hath commanded that thou ſhalt die! and ſo ſaying in anger he drew his ſword from its ſheath; but Moſes lifted up his ſtaff whereon the ineffable name was written, and it turned the flaming ſword of death aſide, and Zamiel retired and departed to his place.

And then Moſes lifted up his head upon the mountain of Piſgah where he ſat and looked once more upon the promiſed land; and at his feet ſtretched out the graſſy plains flowing with milk and honey, and the fertile valleys in which his footſteps were not to tread; and the olives, and the vines, which he was not to gather, and the glorious proſpect of that country was ſpread abroad before him; and the rivers ſtretched forth their arms as his regards fell upon them, and the ruſtling branches of the trees ſighed to him, Farewell, as they waved their boughs in the gentle evening breeze. And now the holy angels who were deputed to receive his body deſcended from heaven and ſtood around the Prophet upon the mountain, and behold all poiſonous herbs withered, and all evil things periſhed before their footſteps, and nothing that was wicked, or evil, or ſinful, remained upon the mountain with Moſes and the holy angels of the Lord.

Only the rock whereon Zamiel had put his foot became of a colour black as night, and it remains ſo unto this day.

And as the evening advanced, and the ſhadows

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of the hills were lengthened upon the plains of the promiſed land, and the golden rays of the ſun were ſinking into the waters of the weſtern ſea, a murmur of lamentation aroſe in the camp of the Iſraelites, for they ſaid, Behold the ſun of Iſrael is ſetting, and the light of our nation is paſſing away; the head of the mighty is laid low, the face of our leader will be ſeen no more; who is there that ſhall be likened unto him? where ſhall his equal be found in the land? Generation after generation ſhall paſs away before a man like him ſhall ariſe again; but the glory of his name ſhall endure for ever; the fame of his holineſs, and his greatneſs, and his juſtice ſhall be well known to our children's children. Then Moſes ſaid, Behold the ſun is ſetting in the weſt, the ſhadows of the night advance apace; before they have covered the earth as with a veil, my ſpirit will be with him that made me, but the ſun of Iſrael ſhall not ſet for ever, here ſhall it ariſe again, and the whole earth ſhall be enlightened with its rays, a light that ſhall not be quenched for ever. For upon this holy land on which I am not worthy to tread, one ſhall walk whoſe footſteps I am not worthy to behold! at his name every knee ſhall bow, and joy through him ſhall extend upon the earth, for he ſhall lead his people to thoſe realms where happineſs fadeth not away, where ſorrow ſhall not enter, where the life of the bleſſed ſhall endure for evermore.

And the ſun ſank down below the ſea and

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drew around him his mantle of purple and gold, and Moſes fell upon his face before the Lord; and he prayed to the Lord his God, and the Spirit of the Lord came down and kiſſed the face of his Prophet, and his ſoul was received into the glory of the heaven of heavens.

And the arms of Moſes were laid acroſs his breaſt, and his eyes were ſhut; and the angel Zinghiel ſupported his head, and the angel Gabriel ſupported his right ſide, and the angel Michael ſupported his left ſide upon the mountain which overlooked the promiſed land, and when the ſhades of darkneſs were gathered upon the earth, there was ſilence in that place, only was the voice of Joſhua heard who prayed unto the Lord for ſtrength and wiſdom to govern his people, for he only was left upon mount Piſgah when the angels had departed with the body of Moſes the Prophet.

Now when the rays of the morning ſun firſt broke forth over the edges of the plains of the wilderneſs of the Eaſt, Joſhua came down from the mountain carrying in his arms the book of the law which Moſes had written in his own handwriting, and he preſented himſelf before the people, and the light which had ſhone from the forehead of Moſes reſted upon the forehead of Joſhua the ſon of Nun, only the light was leſs bright than that which ſhone from the face of him who had ſpoken with the Lord.

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Notes et Documents relatifs à Jean, Roi de France, et à ſa captivité en Angleterre.

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I.

Les comptes de Denys de Collors.

LA Société de l'hiſtoire de France a publié récemment (1851) les comptes de l'Argenterie de nos Rois au XIVe Siècle. L'Argentier était un officier chargé de tout ce qui regardait l'habillement et les meubles de toute nature fournis au Roi et à ſa maiſon ; ces comptes donnent donc des éclairciſſements précieux ſur l'état des arts, du commerce et de l'induſtrie en France à cette époque. Mais le volume, dont nous parlons préſente encore un autre intérêt ; il contient une pièce qui peut-être lue avec la

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même attention des deux côtés de la Manche : c'eſt un Journal de la dépenſe du Roi Jean pendant la dernière année de ſa captivité en Angleterre, depuis le 1er Juillet 1359 juſqu'au 8 Juillet 1360, jour de ſon débarquement à Calais. Beaucoup moins reſtreint que les comptes de l'Argenterie, ce Journal abonde en détails curieux ; tout y a ſa place, non ſeulement les meubles et l'habillement, mais encore les objets de conſommation, les proviſions de bouche, les épices, les vins, les chevaux, &c ; enfin on y trouve auſſi quelques renſeignements d'un ordre plus élevé, et qui complètent les récits des chroniques contemporaines. En réſumé, c'eſt un document également important pour l'hiſtoire de la vie privée, pour celle des perſonnes et des affaires publiques dans les deux pays.

" Ce compte, dit dans ſon avertiſſement le ſavant éditeur, Mr Douet

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d'Arcq, devait être précédé de deux autres que nous n'avons plus. Celui-çi ſe trouve actuellement à la bibliothèque Nationale; c'eſt un manuſcrit ſur papier, formant un volume in 4° de 96 feuillets . . . . La reliure, qui eſt en veau et commune, eſt relativement moderne. Elle nous a paru être de fabrique Anglaiſe. Peut-être ce curieux manuſcrit a-t-il été rapporté d'Angleterre? par Bréquigny par exemple . . . ."

Nous ſommes en meſure de combler en partie la lacune ſignalée par Mr Douet d'Arcq, et nous croyons auſſi pouvoir répondre à la dernière queſtion qu'il poſe. Tout nous fait ſuppoſer que ce compte ne venait pas d'Angleterre, mais des Archives de la Maiſon de Condé. En effet nous avons retrouvé dans cette vaſte collection, non ſeulement une autre portion du journal des recettes et dépenſes du Roi Jean en Angleterre, mais une

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ſérie de pièces qui ſe rapportaient au comptable chargé des finances de ce Prince pendant ſa captivité, le chapelain Denys de Collors. Il eſt donc probable qu'une acquiſition ou quelqu'héritage aura mis les Princes de Condé en poſſeſſion des papiers de ce Denys de Collors, et que le document publié par la ſociété de l'hiſtoire de France en aura été détaché ultérieurement, ainſi que bien d'autres pièces qui ont appartenu à la maiſon de Condé et qui ſont aujourd'hui diſſéminées dans nos dépôts publics ou ailleurs. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, voici ce qui, dans nos archives, nous vient de Denys de Collors :

1° le Compte de la Deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy de France, faicte en Angleterre depuis le 25 décembre 1358 juſques au premier jour de Juillet 1359 en ſuivant ; manuſcrit original in 4° ſur papier, de 94 ff., dont pluſieurs blancs ;

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2° Lettres du Roi Jean, datées de Calais, Août 1360, pour approuver et ratifier les comptes rendus par Denys de Collors; original ſur parchemin, avec le ſceau très bien conſervé;

3° Inventoire de pluſieurs choſes qui furent de la Royne Jehanne de Bouloigne, (femme du Roi Jean,) fait le 28 Mars 1361; rouleau de parchemin, en double expédition;

4° Eſtat de la vaiſſelle d'argent du Roy Jehan à ſon retour d'Angleterre; rouleau de parchemin;

5° Expédition certifiée, le 6 juin 1364, par Jehan Bernier, garde de la prévoſté de Paris, d'une lettre datée du 4 Mai de la même année, par la quelle le Roi Charles V. donne a Denys de Collors décharge des bijoux qui lui avaient été confiés par le Roi ſon père, et qui ſont mentionnés dans les deux inventaires précédents; titre ſur parchemin; le ſceau manque;

6° Expédition de la déciſion priſe

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le lendemain de la fête S^t^ Etienne, protomartyr, décembre 1370, par le Chapitre de Meaux " decanatu vacante," pour fonder un obit à perpétuité en faveur de Denys de Collors (Dionyſius de Collatoriis), Chantre et Chanoine de Meaux, ſecrétaire du Roi ; titre ſur parchemin en latin.

A l'exception de cette dernière pièce qui ne regarde que la biographie du bon chapelain, ces documents nous ont paru également intéreſſants pour l'hiſtoire de France et pour celle d'Angleterre ; à ce double titre nous les avons jugés dignes de figurer dans le ſecond volume de Mélanges des Philobiblon. Ils ſembleront peut-être un peu longs ; mais nous avons préféré les publier in extenſo ; car une ſimple analyſe ne garderait que trop l'empreinte des goûts et des opinions de l'éditeur. Cependant nous croyons utile de les faire précéder d'une courte notice,

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afin de rappeler au lecteur les principales circonſtances auxquelles ces pièces ſe rattachent, et la ſituation de quelques perſonnages dont il rencontrera les noms.

Le Roi Jean de France avait été pris à la bataille de Poitiers (19 Septembre 1356), où il avait montré la plus brillante valeur comme ſoldat et la plus complète incapacité comme général. Après avoir par de déplorables diſpoſitions aſſuré la victoire de ſon adverſaire, il avait vu tomber auprès de lui les plus braves de ſes parents et de ſes amis; il avait vu trois de ſes fils et une partie de ſon armée quitter un peu prématurément le champ de bataille; mais rien n'avait pu l'arracher au combat. A pied, preſque ſeul, armé d'une hache qu'il maniait avec autant de vigueur que d'adreſſe, il ſe défendit, juſqu'à ce qu' épuiſé, atteint de deux bleſſures à la tête, il ſe vit forcé de ſe rendre. C'eſt alors

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peut-être qu'il courut le plus grand danger ; une foule de chevaliers et d'écuyers l'entouraient, ſe diſputant l'honneur lucratif de l'avoir pris, et faillirent l'étouffer dans leur lutte.[1] Le Prince de Galles dut intervenir pour le ſouſtraire à cette brutale avidité. Traité avec la plus délicate courtoiſie par le vainqueur, Jean fut conduit à Bordeaux, où l'on réunit auſſi les principaux priſonniers faits dans la campagne :

D'abord les princes du ſang, ou comme on diſait alors les Sires des fleurs de lys, Philippe de France, Jacques de Bourbon, Jean et Charles d'Artois.

[1] On conſerve encore les réclamations écrites de pluſieurs d'entre eux. Mais c'eſt bien à un chevalier de l' Artois, Denys de Morbeke, que le Roi remit ſon épée. Ce fait, avancé par Froiſſart, eſt confirmé par un certificat qu' Edouard III. accorda à Denys de Morbeke ſur la déclaration du Roi Jean (20 decembre 1357. *Rymer. Fœdera &c* t. III. p. 1. London, 1829).

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Philippe de France, le "mainſné," c'eſt-a-dire le dernier des fils du Roi, alors agé de quinze ans, devint plus tard Duc de Bourgogne, et mourut en 1404. La conduite de ce jeune homme, ou plutôt de cet enfant, à la bataille de Poitiers avait été fort admirée; il n'avait pas voulu quitter ſon père, et l'avait ſuivi à pied au plus fort de la mêlée. Placé derrière lui, il l'avertiſſait des coups qui lui étaient portés; " Père, gardez-vous à droite! père, gardez-vous à gauche!" C'était bien là le début du prince qui devait mériter le ſurnom du Hardi. On verra auſſi, en parcourant les comptes de Denys de Collors, qu'il avait déjà ces goûts de faſte et de dépenſe qu'on remarqua plus tard chez lui et chez ſes deſcendants.

Jacques de Bourbon, premier Comte de la Marche, plus connu alors ſous le nom de Comte de Ponthieu, arrière petit-fils de Saint-Louis et

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frère cadet de Pierre 1er, Duc de Bourbon, qui venait de ſuccomber glorieuſement ſur le champ de bataille. C'était un des plus braves chevaliers de France. A Crécy, dix ans plutôt, il avait ſauvé la vie du Roi, et mérité l'épée de Connétable dont il ſe démit enſuite, on ignore pour quel motif. A Poitiers, il avait été pris couvert de bleſſures par le Captal de Buch, à qui le Prince de Galles venait de le racheter ;[2] Edouard ne voulait pas laiſſer en d'autres mains que les ſiennes un captif de cette valeur et de cette importance. Ainſi que le premier de ſes ancêtres connus, Robert le Fort, tué en 866 au pont de Briſſerte, le Comte de la Marche périt l'épée à la main, en défendant la France ; il fut tué avec ſon fils aîné à la bataille de Brignais. Il eſt l'aieul direct de tous les Bourbons aujourd'hui vivants.

[2] 12 février 1357 (*Rymer*).

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Jean d'Artois, Comte d'Eu, deſcendant d'un frère de Saint Louis tué en Egypte à la bataille de la Maſſoure, était fils d'un prince triſtement célèbre, le transfuge Robert d'Artois. Mais évitant le funeſte exemple de ſon père, il reſta fidèle à la cauſe de la France, et partagea à Poitiers le ſort de ſon ſouverain. Il eſt ſouvent cité dans le recueil de Rymer comme "Priſonarius Regis." Pendant ſa régence ſi agitée, le Dauphin ſe vit forcé de donner le Comté d'Eu au Roi de Navarre, ce qui valut à Jean d'Artois le ſurnom de Sans Terre. Il fut plus tard remis en poſſeſſion. Il était né en 1321, et mourut en 1386.

Charles, Comte de Longueville, était frère du précédent, et comme lui priſonnier du Roi d'Angleterre; il mourut avant 1389.

Après les Princes, les Grands officiers de la couronne:

Arnoul, Sire d'Audenham, Maré-

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chal de France, et pour la ſeconde fois priſonnier des Anglais parmi les quels il comptait beaucoup d'amis. C'était un ſimple gentilhomme du Boulonnais, très brave ſoldat, déjà avancé en âge, et arrivé par ſa ſeule valeur à ſa haute dignité ; du reſte très médiocre capitaine comme la plupart de ſes contemporains.—Diſons-le en paſſant, de tous les Français de ce ſiècle, Dugueſclin eſt le ſeul qui mérite de figurer parmi les grands hommes de guerre dont l'hiſtoire a conſervé les noms ; il eſt le premier de nos compatriotes qui ait ſu concevoir un plan de campagne avec intelligence et l'exécuter avec fermeté.—D'Audenham prit part à toutes les négociations qui eurent lieu pendant la captivité du Roi. Il ſe démit plus tard de la charge de Maréchal de France que ſes forces ne lui permettaient plus d'exercer ; mais il ne ceſſa de faire la guerre où il eut,

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dans ſa vieilleſſe, le dangereux honneur de porter l'oriflamme. Il mourut après 1370.

Jean de Melun, IIe du nom, Comte de Tancarville, grand chambellan de France, grand maître des eaux et forêts et ſouverain maître de l'hotel du Roi. La ſeule énumération de ces titres indique aſſez la faveur dont ce ſeigneur jouiſſait auprès de ſon ſouverain ; c'était, on peut le dire, l'ami particulier du Roi Jean, grand chaſſeur comme lui, partageant tous ſes goûts, ayant la haute direction de ſa maiſon, et employé par lui dans toutes les affaires importantes. Il avait été pris à Poitiers en combattant à côté de ce prince, ainſi que ſon fils et ſon frère, l'archevêque de Sens, que ſon caractère épiſcopal n'avait pas empêché de ſe trouver dans la mêlée. Jean de Melun fut un des ôtages laiſſés en Angleterre après la paix de Brétigny. Il mourut en 1382. Son ſecond fils,

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Guillaume, ayant été tué à la bataille d'Azincourt en 1416, le titre de Comte de Tancarville paſſa à la maiſon d'Harcourt, puis à celle d'Orléans-Longueville, avec laquelle il s'éteignit en 1672.

Jean, Seigneur de Châtillon, auſſi ſouverain Maiſtre de l'hôtel du Roi; mais il était ſans doute ſimple titulaire de cette charge, que le Comte de Tancarville paraît avoir exercée ſeul. Quoique déjà fort âgé, le Seigneur de Châtillon avait été pris dans une eſcarmouche qui avait eu lieu deux jours avant la bataille de Poitiers. Il mourut en 1363.

Jean III^e^ du nom, Comte de Sancerre, de la maiſon de Champagne, Chevalier, conſeiller et Chambellan du Roi. Il avait été fait priſonnier en même temps que Châtillon. Il était mort en 1402, et fut le dernier des mâles de ſa branche; le Comté de Sancerre paſſa enſuite à la maiſon de Bueil.

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Jean de Noyers, Comte de Joigny, grand bouteiller de France, pris dans la même affaire que les précédents, guerrier très actif et énergique, alors âgé de 30 à 39 ans, et fort avant dans la confiance du Roi qui lui avait délégué ſes pouvoirs comme régent du Duché de Bourgogne pendant la minorité du Duc ſon beau-fils. Le Comte de Joigny mourut en 1361, et ſa maiſon ſ'éteignit au commencement du 15e ſiècle.

Nous n'avons pas la prétention de parler ici de tous les perſonnages importants qui ſe trouvaient captifs à Bordeaux, et qui ſont mentionnés dans les Chroniques de France ou dans Froiſſart; nous nous ſommes ſeulement occupés de ceux que la parenté ou leurs charges mettaient en rapports conſtants avec le Roi, et qui figurent plus particulièrement dans les comptes de ſa Maiſon. A cette courte liſte, il convient d'ajouter encore un nom

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plus obſcur, mais que nous rencontrerons ſouvent, c'eſt celui d'un ſimple écuyer de l'Artois, Jean de Damville ou de Dainville, maître d'hotel du Roi, chargé de tout le détail de ſa maiſon. Il avait ſans doute été pris avec ce Prince qu'il ne paraît pas avoir quitté. La Chronique de Saint-Denys a ſoin de nous apprendre qu'à peine Jean le Bon eut-il touché le ſol de la France en 1360, il ſ'empreſſa de reconnaître les fidèles ſervices de ſon maître d'hôtel en lui conférant l'ordre de chevalerie, et en lui accordant 500 livres de rente.

Voilà pour les hommes d'épée; mais il nous reſte à dire un mot de quelques officiers civils de la couronne, de quelques clercs qui partagèrent la captivité du Roi ſans avoir partagé avec lui les chances du champ de bataille, bien que pluſieurs l'euſſent ſans doute ſuivi, ſinon dans le combat, au moins pendant les mouvements de la

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campagne. La plupart cependant paraiſſent l'avoir rejoint un peu plus tard, les uns obéiſſant au ſentiment du devoir, d'autres préoccupés de conſerver leurs emplois, ou bien encore de ſe ſouſtraire à la colère des Etats-Généraux et du peuple de Paris, fort irrités, comme on ſait, contre les conſeillers du vaincu de Poitiers.

Ce fut ſans doute ce motif qui décida Pierre de la Foreſt, Cardinal Archevêque de Rouen et Chancelier de France, à ſe rendre des premiers à Bordeaux ; mais il ne voulut pas continuer l'exercice de ſa charge, remit les ſceaux au Roi, et retourna dans ſon diocèſe. Cependant il reſta en relations ſuivies avec l'illuſtre priſonnier, lui écrivait fréquemment, et fit même auprès de lui de longs ſéjours en Angleterre.[3] Sur la démiſſion de ce prélat, les ſceaux furent confiés à Gilles Aycelin, Evêque de

[3] Voir Rymer et les comptes publiés plus loin.

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Lavaur et de Thérouenne, plus tard Cardinal. Le nouveau Chancelier ſuivit le Roi en Angleterre, le quitta quelque temps pour aller prendre part aux affaires du midi de la France, de la Langue d'Oc comme on diſait alors, puis revint auprès de ſon ſouverain qui le contraignit, aſſure-t-on, malgré ſa réſiſtance, de ſceller de grands dons faits aux Anglais. Mais ni la légalité des actes ainſi paſſés par Aycelin, ni ſon titre de Chancelier ne furent jamais reconnus en France, au moins à Paris. Le régent " avait commis au fait de la Chancellerie" (1357) le Cardinal Evêque de Beauvais, Jean de Dormans, qui ſeul exerça réellement cette charge depuis lors, et qui en devint titulaire après la mort de Pierre de la Foreſt (1373).

Les Chapelains étaient en nombre auprès du Roi, et indépendamment de leurs fonctions ſpirituelles, rempliſſaient dans ſa maiſon des attribu-

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tions très diverſes. L'un, "le Maiſtre Chapelain," Meſſire Gaces de la Buigne, enſeignait la Fauconnerie au jeune Philippe de France, pratiquant lui-même avec bonheur un art dans lequel il excellait, et dont il a mis les préceptes en vers; nous lui conſacrerons plus loin une notice ſpéciale. Un autre, Meſſire Arnoul de Grantpont, faiſait l'office d'aumônier; Yves Derian et Jean le Royer, celui de ſecrétaire; Guillaume Racine, celui de "Fiſicien." Ce dernier preſcrivait et compoſait les remèdes, achetait des livres pour le Roi, et paraît avoir été un véritable factotum. Un autre encore, Denys de Collors, fut chargé un peu plus tard, ainſi que nous l'avons déjà dit, de tenir les comptes de la recette et de la dépenſe de l'hôtel du Roi. Il ſuccéda dans ces fonctions à un certain Jean ou Jeannin Leſquevin, ſur lequel nous n'avons aucun renſeignement, mais

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dont la comptabilité, à en juger par les pièces publiées plus loin, ne paraît pas avoir été très régulière. Denys lui-même eſt peu connu ; nous ſavons ſeulement qu'il fut nommé l'un des ſecrétaires du Roi et qu'il fut maintenu dans ſon emploi lorſque le nombre de ces officiers fut réduit par Charles V. en 1369 ; pluſieurs des ordonnances contenues dans le recueil de Secouſſe ſont contreſignées par lui. Le Roi Jean qui appréciait ſes ſervices, eut ſoin, lorſqu'il confirma les collations de bénéfices faites par ſon fils, de reſerver à " ſon amé et féal ſecrétaire," une prébende en l'égliſe de Chartres et une autre en la Sainte Chapelle du Palais Royal à Paris.[4] Denys fut encore honoré de pluſieurs marques de la confiance royale. Il était auſſi Chantre et Chanoine de la cathédrale de Meaux, ainſi qu'il

[4] 14 octobre, 1360. Ordonnances des Roys de France. T. III. Paris, 1732.

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apparaît de la fondation d'obit faite en ſa faveur par le Chapitre de cette égliſe. Il mourut le 26 février 1382.

Ainſi, dès les premiers temps de ſa captivité, le Roi Jean avait autour de lui une véritable cour. Il était d'ailleurs environné de reſpect. Bien qu' Edouard III., dans tous ſes actes, affectat de ne l'appeler que " notre adverſaire de France" (adverſarius noſter Franciæ), pour tout le monde il reſtait le Roi de France; il était ſervi et honoré comme tel. Une certaine abondance règnait dans ſa maiſon, grâce à la généreuſe ſympathie de quelques-uns de ſes ſujets. A la première nouvelle de ſon déſaſtre, le Comte d'Armagnac, ſon lieutenant-général en Languedoc, lui avait envoyé toute ſorte de proviſions de bouche avec 276 Marcs de vaiſſelle d'argent, et les Etats de cette province ou plutôt de cette région, (car on appelait Languedoc près de la moitié

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de la France, toute la partie méridionale ou pays de droit écrit) établirent, en ſe réuniſſant, des impôts extraordinaires qui devaient être mis à la diſpoſition du Roi; quatre tréſoriers ſpéciaux furent chargés de les percevoir, un pour la ſénéchauſſée de Toulouſe, un pour celle de Carcaſſonne, un pour celle de Beaucaire, et un pour toutes les autres ſénéchauſſées réunies.[5]

Cependant les choſes ne ſe paſſaient pas ainſi dans le nord et au centre de la France. Là, on avait bien autrement ſouffert des maux de la guerre, et rien n'avait remédié à l'impéritie de l'adminiſtration; la ſociété n'était pas protégée par ces fortes inſtitutions municipales ſi vivaces dans le midi, où les mœurs, non moins que la langue, avaient conſervé l'empreinte Romaine; toute autorité,

[5] Hiſtoire du Languedoc, par Dom Vaiſſette. Paris, 1742.

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royale ou féodale, ſemblait anéantie. La régence était échue à un prince pâle et chétif, qui devait acquérir à une rude école les qualités d'un grand Roi, mais qui n'avait alors aucun preſtige, aucun pouvoir réel. Parmi les nobles, les plus vaillants étaient morts ou captifs, et ces deux grandes batailles[6] perdues à dix ans de diſtance avaient enlevé toute la fleur de l'ariſtocratie; les châteaux, épars dans ces provinces devaſtées par l'ennemi, ne contenaient plus guères que des femmes, des vieillards, des enfants ou des hommes déſhonorés. Les payſans, irrités par l'excès de la miſère, ſe ſoulevaient partout, et, tandis que la Jacquerie achevait de déſoler les campagnes, la bourgeoiſie des villes, dominant dans les Etats-Généraux, entrainée par un hardi novateur, Etienne Marcel, prenait la place de la royauté et de la nobleſſe vaincues, et

[6] Crécy, 1346. Poitiers, 1356.

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entreprenait à la fois de repouſſer l'étranger, de changer les hommes et le ſyſtème du gouvernement, peut-être même d'élever ſur le trône une dynaſtie nouvelle. Un hiſtorien éminent[7] a récemment expoſé et jugé avec autant de ſagacité que d'éloquence ce grand mouvement ſocial et politique du 14ᵉ ſiècle; nous renverrons à ces belles pages le lecteur curieux; nous en avons aſſez dit pour expliquer comment le Roi captif ne pouvait attendre du nord de la France ni ſubſides pour ſa perſonne, ni déférence à ſes volontés.

En effet, Jean ayant conclu une trève avec le Prince de Galles (Mars 1357), la nouvelle de cet arrangement cauſa dans Paris une agitation extrême; on cria à la trahiſon, et les ſeigneurs que le Roi avait envoyés

[7] Mr. Auguſtin Thierry. Introduction au Recueil des monuments inédits de l'hiſtoire du Tiers Etat. (*Collⁿ. des Docᵗˢ. inéd. ſur l'Hiſt. de Fr.* Paris, 1850).

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de Bordeaux pour faire connaître ſa volonté à ſon fils furent obligés de ſe cacher et de quitter la capitale en toute hâte. La trève fut obſervée tant bien que mal; mais il était évident que la lutte n'était pas près de finir. Edouard III. comprit que la préſence de "ſon adverſaire" ſur le ſol de la France ôtait à ſon armée toute liberté d'action, et préſentait plus d'un danger. Il preſcrivit donc à ſon fils de conduire ſes priſonniers en Angleterre, et le Prince Noir ſ'embarqua avec ceux-ci, le 11 Avril 1357, ſur une flotte aſſez nombreuſe qui arriva le 4 Mai à Sandwich. Quelques jours après, le Prince, le Roi Jean et les ſeigneurs Français allèrent faire leurs offrandes à Saint Thomas de Canterbury, où ils furent ſalués par une députation de la ville de Londres. Le 24 du même mois, le cortège arriva dans cette capitale; le Roi de France deſcendit à l'hotel de Savoye, ſitué

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dans le Strand, et qui appartenait au Duc de Lancaſtre ; il y reçut la viſite du Roi et de la Reine d'Angleterre.

Ce fut là ſa réſidence habituelle, mais non conſtante, pendant près de deux ans. Il paraît avoir fait dans cet intervalle de fréquents ſéjours à Windſor, et probablement d'autres excurſions dont il n'eſt pas reſté de trace. Une aſſez grande liberté lui était accordée ainſi qu'aux autres priſonniers de marque. Il leur était permis d'aller et venir " ſur leur foy ſeulement, de voler, chacer, déduire et prendre tous leurs eſbatements ainſi qu'il leur plaiſoit."[8] Jean n'avait pas encore quarante ans ;[9] il était courtois, affable, prodigue, inſouciant, et l'aménité de ſon caractère l'a fait ſurnommer le Bon. Aſſez peu préoc-

[8] Froiſſart.—" Voler," ſignifie chaſſer au faucon ; " chacer," chaſſer à courre ; " déduire," ſe livrer à tous ces mâles plaiſirs qu'on appelle Sport en Angleterre.

[9] Il etait né en 1319.

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cupé des miſères de ſon royaume, beaucoup trop facile dans toutes les négociations qui ſe faiſaient pour la paix, il aimait ſurtout le plaiſir, et les exercices phyſiques. Auſſi les chevaux, les chiens, les faucons tiennent-ils une aſſez grande place dans les comptes de ſon hôtel. Mais nous y trouvons auſſi, en petit nombre il eſt vrai, quelques achats de livres et même quelques frais de reliure, que des bibliophiles ne peuvent laiſſer inaperçus. Ainſi il donna 4 ſous 4 deniers pour un " Romans du Renart," 28s. 8d. pour un " Romans du Loherenc Garin," et 10s. pour un " Roumans du tournoiement d'Antechriſt."[10] Nous verrons plus loin ce que pouvait valoir alors (d'une manière aſſez vague il eſt vrai), ces ſols et deniers " d'eſterlin ;" mais nous pouvons affirmer ſans crainte

[10] Compte publié par la Societé de l'hiſtoire de France.

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d'erreur que ces livres coûteraient un peu plus cher aujourd'hui. Il en eſt de même des reliures : 32 deniers à " Marguerite la reliereſſe," pour " couvrir tout de neuf" une bible en français et lui mettre quatre fermoirs; un relieur de l'autre ſexe, Jacques, avait reçu 3ˢ 6ᵈ " pour relier un des bréviaires de la Chapelle, mettre une ais toute neuve, couvrir d'une pel vermeil, le broder et blanchir ;" une garniture de clous de laiton pour " un romans de Guilon " avait coûté 20ᵈ.[11] Le Roi Jean avait auſſi parmi ſes valets de chambre un peintre aſſez diſtingué, Maiſtre Girart d'Orléans, qu'il avait déjà employé en 1356 à décorer le château de Vaudreuil en Normandie ; les comptes nous apprennent que durant ſa captivité, il fit éxécuter à cet artiſte quelques tableaux[12] et d'autres œuvres d'art, telles

[11] Compte publié par nous. Voir plus loin.
[12] Ibid.

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que complèter un jeu d'échecs,[13] orner des meubles, &c.[14] Avouons le cependant, ce qui figure au premier rang dans les dépenſes extraordinaires, c'eſt la toilette de Meſſire Philippe de France et celle de Maiſtre Jehan le Fol.

Avec ſa réputation de brave et loyal chevalier, avec ſes goûts, ſon caractère, le Roi ne pouvait manquer de plaire aux Barons Anglais. Il y avait peu d'animoſité, il y avait preſque conformité de langue et d'habitudes entre la nobleſſe des deux nations, et les captifs français paraiſſent avoir lié autour d'eux de nombreuſes et agréables relations. On en trouve la trace dans nos comptes : tantôt c'eſt l'illuſtre et vaillant compagnon du Prince Noir, Sir John Chandos, qui fait préſent au Roi de quatre lévriers, tantôt ce ſont des envois de venaiſon, de gi-

[13] Ibid.
[14] Compte pub. par la Soc. de l'Hiſt. de Fr.

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bier, de poiſſon, faits par les Comteſſes de Pembroke et de Warren. Chandos eſt trop univerſellement connu pour qu'il ſoit néceſſaire d'en parler ici. Quant aux deux nobles dames, nous devons confeſſer que leurs attentions ſi fréquentes nous avaient d'abord inſpiré quelques doutes ſur la nature de leur entraînement pour un prince d'aſſez galant renom. Mais les renſeignements que nous avons pu recueillir ſur ces comteſſes ne laiſſent place à aucun ſoupçon malin. L'une, Jeanne, Comteſſe de Warren, que le bon Chapelain appelle toujours Madame de Garraines, petite fille du Roi Edouard 1er par ſa mère, Eléonor Comteſſe de Barr, avait paſſé la cinquantaine.[15] L'autre, Marie de Saint Paul, comteſſe douairière de Pembroke, était plus agée

[15] Née vers 1295, elle avait épouſé Jean, dernier Comte de Warren et Surrey ; mais elle avait divorcé de bonne heure.

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encore ; c'était une Françaiſe de l'illuſtre maiſon de Châtillon, mais deſcendant auſſi par les femmes d'un Roi d'Angleterre, Henri III.[16] Un précieux document contemporain conſervé au Britiſh Muſæum[17] nous

[16] Béatrix d'Angleterre, fille d'Henri III., avait épouſé Jean II., Duc de Bretagne ; leur ſeconde fille, Marie, épouſa Guy III. de Châtillon, Comte de S[t] Paul ; de ce mariage était iſſue la Comteſſe de Pembroke qui nous occupe. Le mari de cette dernière était ſon parent aſſez proche, Aymar de Valence, d'une branche de la maiſon de Luſignan fixée en Angleterre et auſſi alliée de la famille Royale. Cet Aymar de Valence étant mort ſans enfants en 1323, ſon titre de Comte de Pembroke paſſa à ſon petit neveu, Lawrence Haſtings, qui épouſa Agnès fille du célèbre Mortimer. (*Ducheſne, Hiſt[re] de la Maiſon de Chaſtillon.—Dugdale's Baronage.*) Nous ſommes entrés dans ces détails parceque l'exiſtence ſimultanée de ces deux Comteſſes de Pembroke a donné lieu parfois à quelque confuſion.

[17] Comptes des dépenſes de la Maiſon de la Reine Iſabelle, 1357—58 (*Cottonian. Galba.* E. XIV) ; manuſcrit en latin endommagé par le feu. A l'aide de ce document, M. Edw. A.

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apprend que ces dames étaient fort dans l'intimité de la Reine douairière d'Angleterre, Iſabelle de France; toutes deux en effet étaient alliées à la famille Royale, et la Comteſſe de Pembroke était compatriote de cette Reine, qu'elle avait accompagnée en France en 1323. La veuve d'Edouard II. était, ſous le règne de ſon fils, beaucoup plus libre et plus influente qu'on ne l'a cru long-temps; les plus illuſtres perſonnages étaient fort aſſidus auprès d'elle, et c'eſt ſans doute à ſa cour que le Roi Jean fit la connaiſſance des deux Comteſſes; car il vit ſouvent Iſabelle pendant la première année de ſa captivité. Cette Princeſſe était fille de Philippe le Bel, et la dernière ſurvivante de la branche des Capétiens directs; c'eſt d'elle que ſon fils Edouard III. tenait ſes pré-

Bond a publié une curieuſe notice ſur les derniers jours de cette Princeſſe (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxv).

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tendus droits à la Couronne de France ; mais cette rivalité, ſi terrible dans ſes effets, n'empêchait pas Iſabelle de ſe montrer pleine d'égards pour l'adverſaire de ſon fils et pour ſes compagnons. Elle recevait le Roi à ſa table, et nous voyons même[18] que, pour charmer ſes ennuis, elle lui prêta les deux plus fameux romans de l'époque, le Saint Graal et le Lancelot. Le Comte de Ponthieu, le Sire d'Aubigny, Sénéchal de Toulouſe, le Maréchal d'Audenham, le Comte de Tancarville figurent parmi ſes plus fréquents viſiteurs, et la facilité avec la quelle ils allaient la voir dans ſa réſidence d'Hertford eſt une des meilleures preuves de la liberté dont ils jouiſſaient.

Mais cette liberté paraît avoir été reſtreinte peu après la mort de cette Reine ſurvenue le 23 août 1358. Les negóciations qui n'avaient ceſſé d'être

[18] Ibid.

ſuivies avec la plus grande activité depuis que Jean le Bon était en Angleterre,[19] n'avaient donné aucun réſultat; les conditions humiliantes acceptées par le Roi captif étaient toujours repouſſées par le Régent, ſoit que ce jeune Prince cédat en cela à l'indignation publique, ſoit que la raiſon et le patriotiſme l'emportaſſent chez lui ſur le dévouement filial. Edouard III. eſpèrait-il vaincre plus facilement cette réſiſtance en reſſerrant la captivité du vaincu de Poitiers? craignait-il quelque tentative pour ſa délivrance? Toujours eſt-il qu'au mois de décembre 1358, des meſures furent priſes pour tranſporter le Roi de France au Château de Somerton dans le Comté de Lincoln; le bagage était déjà chargé et près de

[19] Voir dans Rymer les nombreux ſauf-conduits donnés aux négociateurs. Leurs mouvements ſont ſouvent auſſi mentionnés dans les comptes; il y eſt même parlé d'encre et de parchemin achetés pour écrire les traités.

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partir ;[20] quatre pièces de vin avaient été expédiées dans cette fortereſſe pour le ſervice des hommes d'armes anglais deſtinés à y monter la garde,[21] lorſque ſurvint un contr' ordre dont nous ignorons le motif. Jean et ſa ſuite reſtèrent à l'hotel de Savoye ; mais il n'y eut plus de courſe à Windſor ni aux environs, et Roger de Beauchamp fut chargé de veiller ſans ceſſe ſur le Roi ; ſoixante-neuf ſoldats ou employés divers étaient à cet effet, mis ſous ſes ordres.[22]

Cependant aucune entrave ne paraît avoir été miſe aux communications du Roi avec ſes ſujets. Les envoyés de toutes conditions continu-

[20] Comptes publiés plus loin ; dépenſes pour locations de haquenées et bateaux.

[21] Rymer. Ordre de payement du 4 décembre 1358.

[22] Rymer. De regardo faciendo illis, qui morantur ſuper cuſtodia Johannis de Francia apud Savoye. 12 dec. 1358. C'eſt la première pièce de cette nature qu'on rencontre dans ce volumineux recueil.

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aient d'obtenir facilement des ſauf-conduits, les uns pour aller en France, d'autres pour en venir. Parmi ces derniers, il en était dont la viſite dût être particulièrement agréable à Jean. Dix chevaliers et bourgeois du Languedoc, appartenant aux Sénéchauſſées de Beaucaire, Toulouſe et Carcaſſonne, aux villes de Bèziers et Narbonne, pourvus de paſſeports du Pape, du Comte de Poitiers,[23] des rois de France et d'Angleterre,[24] vinrent chercher leur ſouverain juſqu'à Londres, chargés par les Etats de la province de ſ'informer de ſa ſanté et de lui offrir les corps, biens et familles des habitants pour ſa délivrance. Le long et pénible voyage entrepris et

[23] Jean de France, Comte de Poitiers, plus tard duc de Berry, un des fils du Roi; il venait d'être inveſti de la Lieutenance-Générale du Languedoc.—C'eſt à lui qu'appartenaient les beaux manuſcrits ſi juſtement admirés.

[24] Rymer.—Hiſt. de Languedoc.—Comptes publiés plus loin.

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accompli, non ſans péril,[25] par ces hommes courageux était déjà un acte de dévouement qui devait toucher le cœur du Roi. Mais les deputés lui portaient auſſi un témoignage, non moins précieux, de l'affection de ſes ſujets du Languedoc, un préſent d'argent très conſidérable pour l'époque et qui ne rendit pas moins de £1268. 14ˢ 9ᵈ,[26] ſur la place de Londres.

Cette ſomme arrivait à propos; car, depuis que le Roi avait quitté Bordeaux, ſes reſſources étaient très reſtreintes, et il était fort embarraſſé de pourvoir aux dépenſes courantes des ſix offices de ſon hôtel, à l'entretien de ſes officiers et ſerviteurs, aux mo-

[25] A leur retour, ces députés furent arrêtés, comme ennemis de l'état par le Sire de Beaujeu. Le Comte de Poitou écrivit le 6 Mai, de Toulouſe, à l'archevêque de Lyon et au bailli de Mâcon pour les faire mettre en liberté. (*Hiſt. de Languedoc.*)

[26] Comptes publiés par nous.—On trouvera plus loin quelques renſeignements ſur la valeur des monnaies.

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diques gratifications que, vers Pâques ou la Saint Jean, il leur accordait en guiſe de gages, enfin à divers frais extraordinaires de ſa petite cour ; il ne recevait à cet égard aucun ſecours d'Edouard III., quoique celui-çi dut réclamer plus tard les frais de garde de ſon captif ſur le pied de dix-mille réaux par mois.[27] Auſſi avait-il fallu déjà avoir recours à des emprunts aſſez onèreux,[28] mais qui ne paraiſſent pas avoir été renouvelés plus tard, ſoit que leur négociation fut devenue plus difficile, ſoit que la ſituation financière du Roi eut permis de renoncer à ces ruineuſes opérations. En effet, à partir de cette époque, nos comptes font mention d'une aſſez grande variété de recettes qu'on peut grouper en trois claſſes :

[27] Cette ſomme fut réclamée indépendamment de la rancon du Roi. (*Arch. Nat. de France.*)

[28] Comptes publiés plus loin.

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1° Les préſents d'argent faits au Roi par des ſujets dévoués ; nous venons de voir ce qu'il reçut du Languedoc ; plus tard, le Cardinal de Tulle, les villes d'Amiens et de Laon[29] lui offrirent auſſi des ſommes aſſez rondes.

2° Les recouvrements effectués par quelques-uns des receveurs de la couronne et provenant, ſoit de certains impôts dont le Roi s'était réſervé le fruit ou dont les aſſemblées provinciales lui avaient abandonné le produit, ſoit de dettes ſoldées et de ſommes épargnées par des ſerviteurs dévoués, tels que Bernart François, receveur à Nimes, Jean d'Arras, bourgeois de Troyes, et Pierre Scatiſſe, tréſorier de France en Languedoc. Ces verſements étaient d'ailleurs aſſez faibles et fort irréguliers ; même en Languedoc, dans la province qui

[29] Comptes publiés par la ſociété de l'hiſtoire de France.

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avait le moins ſouffert de la guerre, et montré au Roi le plus d'attachement, les impôts qui lui étaient deſtinés ſe percevaient difficilement, et il fut obligé d'écrire pour réclamer ce qui lui avait été promis.[30]

3° Le produit de la vente de chevaux, d'objets divers et ſurtout de vins; car, tout fier chevalier qu'il était, Jean ne dédaignait pas de faire un peu de commerce. La munificence affectueuſe des habitants du Languedoc ne ſ'était pas bornée à un ſimple don d'argent; le Roi avait reçu auſſi un envoi conſidérable de vins, qui lui étaient offerts par de riches eccléſiaſtiques de cette province, l'évêque de Lectoure[31] et l'abbé de Grantſilve.[32] Cet approviſionne-

[30] 16 Juin 1359. Hiſtoire du Languedoc.

[31] Pierre d'Anzeler. Il était venu voir le Roi en Angleterre en 1357. *Gallia Chriſtiana*, I.

[32] Couvent de l'ordre de Citeaux, fondé au xii^e ſiècle dans le diocèſe de Toulouſe, à 10 lieues N. O. de cette ville. *Gallia Chriſtiana*, XIII.

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ment éxcédant les beſoins de la Maiſon royale, on en vendit une grande partie, et l'opération ayant réuſſi, le Roi ſe fit expédier de nouvelles cargaiſons de vins achetés par ſon receveur à Toulouſe, Raoul de Liſle. Tout ce qui ne fut pas mis dans les magaſins, ou comme on diſait alors dans " les garniſons" du Roi, fut revendu avec un aſſez beau bénéfice.

De riches négociants de Londres étaient les intermédiaires de toutes ces opérations financières, facilitaient la vente des denrées en nature, et ſe chargaient du change et de la rentrée des fonds envoyés de France. C'était: Sir John Stody, Vintner, alors Maire de Londres; Adam de Bury, Skinner, qui parvint à la même dignité en 1364, et qui pouvait bien tenir par quelque lien de parenté au vénérable patron de notre ſociété; enfin plus habituellement un certain Henri Picart, aſſez connu pour avoir donné

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une fête magnifique aux Rois de France, de Chypre, d'Ecoſſe et d'Angleterre, et qui, bien que Gaſcon à ce qu'on ſuppoſe, avait auſſi exercé la première charge municipale de Londres en 1356; Picard était de plus fourniſſeur de vins et banquier d'Edouard III.

Voici donc le budget des voies et moyens du royal priſonnier ſuffiſamment établi; revenons maintenant aux viciſſitudes de ſa captivité, que cette petite digreſſion nous a fait perdre de vue. Nous l'avons laiſſé au commencement de 1359, réſidant encore à Londres, à l'hôtel de Savoye, mais déjà moins libre, et ſ'attendant à être éloigné de cette capitale. Cette dernière meſure, annoncée au mois de décembre précèdent, ne tarda pas à être exécutée. Mais au lieu d'être envoyé dans le Comté de Lincoln, le Roi fut d'abord transféré, 4 Avril 1359, au Château d'Hertford,[33] où

[33] Comptes publiés plus loin.

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les captifs français avaient reçu pendant un an la gracieuſe hoſpitalité de la Reine Iſabelle. C'eſt là qu'il apprit la rupture des négociations pour la paix dont il avait ſigné les préliminaires avant ſon départ de Londres. Le Dauphin avait définitivement refuſé d'adhérer au traité conclu par ſon père ; il avait agi ſagement et patriotiquement ; mais le coup fut rude pour le Roi ; " Ha, Ha ! Charles beau fils," ſ'écria-t-il ; " vous vous conſeillez au Roi de Navarre qui vous déçoit, et en décevroit quarante tels que vous eſtes." Jean ſe trompait : c'était l'opinion unanime de la nation que ſon fils avait ſuivie ; c'étaient " les prélats, les nobles, les conſuls des bonnes villes qui avaient trouvé cet accord trop dur ; et reſpondirent tous à une voix aux chevaliers et ſeigneurs qui la lettre avoyent apportée, qu'ils avoyent plus cher endurer encore le grand méchef ou ils

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eſtoyent, que le Royaume de France fuſt ainſi amendri."[34]

Dès que la réponſe du Régent et de ſon conſeil fut connue à Londres, Edouard III. annonça ſon prompt paſſage en France avec une puiſſante armée; ſes préparatifs d'ailleurs étaient commencés depuis longtemps. Les captifs français ne furent pas oubliés dans les meſures priſes à cette occaſion. Dès le 21 Juin, trente-cinq perſonnes de la ſuite du Roi (et parmi elles, le Chapelain poëte et fauconnier, Gaces de la Buigne), preſque tous les ſerviteurs du Comte de Ponthieu et des autres ſeigneurs priſonniers, reçurent l'ordre de retourner en France.[35] Le mois ſuivant, 26 Juillet, le nombre des perſonnes autoriſées à réſider auprès du Roi et

[34] Froiſſart.

[35] A l'occaſion de ce départ le Roi dut accorder une gratification aſſez lourde pour ſon mince tréſor. (Comptes publiés par la Société de l'Hiſtoire de France.—*Rymer.*)

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de ſon fils fut fixé à vingt ; toutes furent déſignées nominativement dans un permis de ſéjour ; mais Jean réclama énergiquement contre la nouvelle ſéparation qui lui était impoſée, et qui avait ſans doute pour objet de rendre la ſurveillance plus facile. Il obtint que dix-neuf noms fuſſent ajoutés ſur la liſte, et il put garder auprès de lui ſon tailleur Taſſin du Breuil, ſon peintre Girart d'Orléans, et le fauconnier de ſon fils, Jean de Milan, qui avaient d'abord été exclus.

Cette réduction de la maiſon du Roi captif n'était que le prélude d'un autre changement de réſidence. Le ſéjour à Hertford paraît n'avoir jamais dû être que temporaire ; il ne dura pas quatre mois, et ceſſa ſans doute dès qu'on eut achevé les diſpoſitions néceſſaires pour mettre le Château de Somerton en état de recevoir ſes illuſtres hôtes. Partis d'Hertford le 29 Juillet, ceux-ci

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étaient rendus le 4 Août (1359) dans leur nouvelle demeure. Un chevalier banneret, William Deynecourt, fut chargé d'eſcorter le Roi pendant le trajet et de le garder à Somerton; trois autres chevaliers, vingt-deux hommes d'armes et vingt archers étaient mis à ſa diſpoſition;[36] nonobſtant la miſſion ſpéciale de Deynecourt, Sir Henry de Greyſtock, connétable du château, conſervait ce que nous appellerions dans notre langue militaire moderne le commandement de la place.[37]

La ſurveillance exercée ſur les captifs français devenait chaque jour plus ſévère. Au mois de novembre, Edouard III. avait paſſé la mer, laiſſant l'Angleterre preſque dépourvue d'hommes de guerre, et le Prince

[36] Ordre du 26 Juillet. (*Rymer.*)

[37] Divers Comptes, "particularia compoti," relatifs au ſéjour du Roi Jean à Somerton et conſervés au depôt de Carlton Ride, ſous la garde du Révérend Joſeph Hunter.

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Thomas, un de ſes fils, inveſti de la régence du royaume, dut mettre quelques entraves aux communications juſqu' alors aſſez faciles des priſonniers avec la France. Les ſauf-conduits enregiſtrés par Rymer deviennent beaucoup plus rares, et l'objet des permiſſions ainſi données eſt toujours ſoigneuſement rapporté. Il fallut même un ordre ſpécial pour que le ſecrétaire du Roi, Jean le Royer, qui avait été au mois de Mai à Paris avec les ſeigneurs envoyés vers le Dauphin, fut reçu à Somerton et put reprendre ſon ſervice auprès de ſon maître ; encore ne fut-il admis à réſider dans le château qu'en remplacement du Meneſtrier Sauxonnet qui rentrait en France ;[38] tous les permis de ſéjour accordés aux ſerviteurs du Roi furent menſuellement renouvelés.[39] Bientôt le bruit ſe ré-

[38] Ordres du 19 novembre et du 5 décembre. (*Rymer.*)

[39] Ibidem.

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pandit que l'ennemi allait débarquer en Angleterre, et qu'une tentative ſerait faite pour la délivrance de l'illuſtre captif. Diverſes meſures furent priſes pour la défenſe du Royaume, et on jugea prudent de transférer le Roi Jean dans un lieu plus fort et plus rapproché de Londres que Somerton; Jean de Buckingham et Raoul Spigornell[40] furent chargés de le conduire au Château de Berkhampſtead.[41] Ce mouvement allait s'exécuter lorſque le régent apprit la deſcente d'un parti Français près de Winchelſea, et la deſtruction de cette petite ville. L'inquiétude fut grande; ordre fut auſſitôt donné de renfermer partout les priſonniers Français dans

[40] Ce Spigornell était depuis quelque temps attaché au ſervice de la ſurveillance du Roi. Pluſieurs comptes de frais de voyages faits par lui de Somerton à Londres et *vice verſâ* ſont conſervés à Carlton Ride.

[41] Dans le Comté d'Hertford. Ordre du 1er mars 1360. (*Rymer.*)

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des Châteaux forts, et d'amener à Londres le Roi Jean avec ſon fils et ſa ſuite.[48] Les plus grandes précautions furent preſcrites pour le ſurveiller dans le trajet, et le 28 mars 1360, il fut inſtallé, non plus à l'hôtel de Savoye, mais à la Tour, dont on avait déménagé les archives à cette occaſion ; les bannerets Jean et Roger de Beauchamp étaient de nouveau prépoſés à ſa garde.[49]

Cependant Edouard III. avait rencontré en France une réſiſtance à la quelle il ne ſ'était pas attendu. Il était maître de la campagne ; aucune armée ne pouvait être oppoſée à la ſienne ; mais les grandes villes ſe défendaient avec la plus courageuſe opiniâtreté ; toutes avaient heureuſement repouſſé les attaques des Anglais. La bourgeoiſie de Paris donnait l'exemple ; elle avait abandonné

[48] Ordres des 14 et 17 mars 1360. (*Rymer.*)
[49] Comptes conſervés à Carlton Ride.

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le prévôt Marcel[44] le jour où, dans l'entraînement de la lutte, il avait ſacrifié l'intérêt national à ſes paſſions politiques ; le mécontentement avait toujours cédé au patriotiſme. Edouard ne ſe méprit pas ſur l'attitude de la nation ; il jugea bientôt que la lutte ſerait interminable ; d'ailleurs le ſpectacle de ces provinces horriblement dévaſtées, ſans culture, couvertes de ruines, attriſtait ce grand cœur ; ſon armée auſſi commençait à ſouffrir beaucoup en parcourant ce déſert ; enfin un violent orage qui l'aſſaillit près de Chartres frappa ſon eſprit d'une ſorte de terreur ſuperſtitieuſe. Il ſe montra plus conciliant, et offrit au régent des conditions encore fort dures, mais plus acceptables. La paix fut ſignée à Brétigny le 8 mai 1360.

[44] Tué par le bourgeois Jean Maillard le 31 Juillet 1358, au moment où il allait ouvrir la porte Saint-Antoine aux Anglois et Navarrois.

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Cette bonne nouvelle parvint au Roi Jean le 15 du même mois, et l'huiſſier de la Reine d'Angleterre qui la lui apporta recut de lui une large gratification.[45] Cependant il ne devait être délivré qu' après le payement de ſix cent mille écus d'or, qui formaient le premier terme de ſa rançon, et comme, dans l'état de ſon royaume, cette énorme ſomme ne pouvait être raſſemblée promptement, on ne ſe hâta guères de lui faire quitter Londres ; mais ſa captivité étroite ceſſa. Dès ce moment, les comptes nous le montrent allant et venant, faiſant des courſes, des viſites, jouiſſant enfin de cette liberté relative qu'on lui avait laiſſée pendant les premiers temps de ſon ſéjour en Angleterre. Le 30 Juin, il partit pour Douvres, où il arriva le 6 Juillet. Le même jour, Edouard III. lui en-

[45] 100 nobles, valant £33. 6*s*. 8*d*.—Comptes publiés par la Société de l'Hiſt. de Fr.

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voya, comme marque d'amitié, le gobelet dont il avait l'habitude de ſe ſervir, et Jean en retour lui fit préſent de ſon propre hanap qui avait appartenu à Saint-Louis, et qui avait toujours été conſervé comme une relique.[46] Le ſurlendemain, le Roi de France débarqua à Calais ; mais il y reſta plus de trois mois ; encore ce long délai n'aurait-il pas ſuffi à raſſembler, même incomplètement, la ſomme exigée par Edouard, ſans un triſte expédient que les circonſtances forcèrent d'adopter. Mathieu Galéas Viſconti, Seigneur de Milan, offrit de ſolder immédiatement ſix cent mille florins ſi la main d'Iſabelle de France, fille du roi, était accordée à ſon propre fils, Jean Galéas. Le marché fut conclu, et ſuivant l'énergique

[46] Comptes pub. par. la Soc. de l'Hiſt. de Fr. Le gobelet d'Édouard III. eſt mentionné dans l'Inventaire des Joyaux du Roi Jean, publié plus loin ſous le N° 4.

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expreſſion de Villani,[47] Jean vendit ſa propre chair pour recouvrer ſa liberté.

Enfin, le 25 octobre 1360, les payements étant effectués, les ôtages échangés, la paix jurée, le Roi de France rentra dans ſon royaume, et fut coucher à Boulogne. Mais déjà depuis le mois d'Août, les anciens officiers de ſa maiſon avaient recommencé leur ſervice auprès de lui; en ſorte que les fonctions de comptable exercées par Denys de Collors depuis le mois de décembre 1358 furent repriſes par Jehan le Coq, maître de la chambre aux deniers. Quittance fut donnée au Chapelain pour toutes ſes opérations; c'eſt la pièce que nous publions ſous le N° 2. On y verra qu'il avait rendu au Roi quatre comptes qui avaient été

[47] Quaſi com' all' incanto ſua propria carne vendeſſe. (*Math. Villani.* Hiſt. lib. 9. c. 103. —ap. *Muratori Rer. Ital. Script.* t. XIV.)

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" receus, ouis, examinés" par les Comtes de Sancerre et de Joigny, chambellans, par le médecin Guillaume Racine, le ſecrétaire Jean le Royer, et les maîtres d'hotel, Jean de Damville et Nicolas Braque.[48] Le document qu'on trouvera plus loin ſous le N° 1 eſt le premier de ces comptes; deux autres ſe trouvent, ainſi que nous l'avons dit, dans le volume publié par la ſociété de l'hiſtoire de France; le quatrième manque encore; mais c'eſt le moins intéreſſant; il ſ'appliquait ſeulement à la courte période compriſe entre le 8 Juillet et le 1er Août 1360, c'eſt-à-dire aux trois premières ſemaines du ſéjour du Roi à Calais.

[48] " Nicolas Braque, maiſtre de l'oſtel du Roy et paravant avait eſté tréſorier et après maiſtre de ſes comptes." Grandes Chroniques de France. Il n'avait pas partagé la captivité du Roi, et ne revit que le dernier compte rendu à Calais. C'était un des officiers que les Etats de 1357 avaient pourſuivis avec le plus d'acharnement.

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Denys de Collors ceſſa donc, à partir de cette époque, de gérer les finances particulières de ſon ſouverain ; mais il conſerva la garde de la vaiſſelle d'or et d'argent qui avait été rapportée d'Angleterre, et ce dépôt s'augmenta bientôt des joyaux qui furent offerts au Roi pour ſa bienvenue par pluſieurs des bonnes villes du Royaume. En effet la délivrance de ce Prince, quelqu' onèreuſe qu'elle fut, avait été célébrée par ſes ſujets comme une fête nationale. " Je ne vous auroys jamais deviſé comme puiſſamment le Roy de France fut recueilli à ſon retour en ſon royaume de toutes manières de gens. Car il eſtoit moult déſiré. Si luy donna l'on de beaux dons et de riches préſents."[49] Les préſents dont la liſte nous a été conſervée n'étaient pas ſi riches que veut bien le dire Froiſſart ; la France était pauvre ; elle avait été

[49] Froiſſart.

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dévaſtée par la guerre; elle l'était encore par les grandes compagnies; tous les fléaux, la famine, la peſte, ſ'uniſſaient pour la déſoler; enfin il fallait payer la rançon du Roi, charge encore bien lourde,[50] ſans compter les frais de garde qu' Edouard III. ſ'était fait rembourſer, et toutes les rançons partielles que les ſeigneurs priſonniers avaient levées ſur leurs vaſſaux. Le cœur ſe ſerre quand on lit le récit de toutes ces ſouffrances, et vraiment on trouve qu'au milieu d'une pareille

[50] Elle n'était pas encore liquidée en 1400. Dans les pouvoirs donnés le 18 mai de cette année par le roi d'Angleterre, Henri IV., à ſes ambaſſadeurs pour renouveler les traités de trève et d'alliance avec le Roi de France, il eſt fait mention des recouvrements à opérer ſur la rançon du Roi Jean. (Arch. de Condé.) On ſe rendra compte de l'étendue des ſacrifices impoſés à la nation en parcourant "l'aide payé par les habitants du diocèſe de Paris" à cette occaſion (document publié avec une remarquable introduction par M. Deſſales dans un volume de Mélanges que la Société des bibliophiles français a donné en 1850).

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miſère, ces coupes, ces plats, ces écuelles étaient encore de bien grands préſents !

La mort de la Reine Jeanne de Boulogne, ſeconde femme de Jean le Bon, qui ſurvint un an environ après le retour de ſon mari (novembre 1361), fut l'occaſion d'un nouveau témoignage de confiance donné par ce prince à l'honnête Chapelain ; les bijoux laiſſés par la Reine furent remis à de Collors, ſuivant inventaire dreſſé le 18 mars 1362. Le Roi quitta Paris peu après. Il avait déjà été à Dijon au mois de décembre précédent pour prendre poſſeſſion du Duché de Bourgogne dont il venait d'hériter,[51] et il était a peine de retour ; mais ſon caractère inquiet,

[51] Philippe, douzième et dernier Duc de Bourgogne de la première race, mourut ſans enfants au mois de novembre 1361. Le Roi Jean lui ſuccéda comme ſon plus proche héritier, et prit poſſeſſion à Dijon le 22 décembre 1361. (*Hiſtoire de Bourgogne, par Dom Planchet.*)

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ſon averſion pour les affaires, le portaient a ſ'éloigner ſans ceſſe de ſa capitale. D'ailleurs il voulait aller voir les provinces du midi de la France qui lui avaient donné tant de marques de dévouement ; peut-être auſſi ſongeait-il à ſe remarier avec la Reine Jeanne de Naples, qui était elle-même veuve pour la ſeconde fois. Mais quand il arriva à Avignon (20 novembre 1362), le pape Innocent VI., ſur l'appui duquel il avait compté pour conclure cette union, était mort, et ſon ſucceſſeur Urbain V. avait pris d'autres arrangements : la reine de Naples épouſa Jacques d'Arragon. Le pontiſe n'en fit pas moins grand accueil au Roi Jean, et lui offrit des fêtes magnifiques ; enfin il profita de la préſence de ce Prince, du Roi de Chypre et d'une foule de Seigneurs qui ſe trouvaient alors à Avignon, pour eſſayer d'organiſer une nouvelle Croiſade. Il la prêcha lui-

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même avec chaleur et onction, et ſes paroles furent accueillies avec un dévôt empreſſement ; mais cet enthouſiaſme de tradition n'avait plus rien que de factice ; le grand mouvement qui avait " déraciné" l'Europe était paſſé pour ne plus revenir ; on prenait encore la croix comme par habitude, mais ſans que nul ſongeat ſérieuſement à combattre pour elle. Cependant il n'eſt pas impoſſible que l'attrait de nouvelles et glorieuſes aventures ait ſéduit la nature chevalereſque du Roi Jean, et il paraît probable qu'il eut réellement la penſée de faire " le paſſage d'oultremer." Il prétendit même décider les Rois d'Angleterre et d'Ecoſſe à l'accompagner ; c'eſt du moins le prétexte qu'il mit en avant pour expliquer à ſon conſeil le nouveau voyage qu'il voulait faire à Londres ; mais on a plus généralement admis qu'en retournant aux lieux de ſa captivité, il

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voulait ſurtout effacer le mauvais effet produit par la conduite de ſon fils le Duc d'Anjou, un des ôtages de la paix de Brétigny, qui venait de rentrer en France en violant ſa parole ; enfin ſur un mot du continuateur de Guillaume de Nangis,[52] on a encore ſuppoſé qu'il était ramené en Angleterre par quelque motif moins ſérieux. Le caractère de Jean était ſi léger, ſi frivole, qu'il eſt difficile de connaître le véritable objet de ſa réſolution ; toujours eſt il que les efforts de ſes conſeillers pour l'en détourner furent vains. Il était peu dans les habitudes de ce Prince d'écouter la voix de la raiſon ; l'entraînement était tout chez lui, et il ne ſavait même pas reſter fidèle à la politique traditionnelle de ſa race; car il fit ſes adieux à la France par une bien funeſte meſure, en détachant de la couronne le précieux

[52] Aliqui verò dicebant quòd illùc iverat cauſa joci.

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joyau que la fortune venait d'y réunir. Il avait toujours tendrement aimé ſon dernier fils, Philippe, l'intrépide enfant de Poitiers, le joyeux compagnon de ſa captivité; avant de partir, il voulut le doter magnifiquement, et lui fit donation, à lui et à ſes hoirs mâles, du Duché de Bourgogne ainſi que de tous ſes droits dans la Comté du même nom, avec le titre de premier pair de France.[53] Puis il remit de nouveau la régence au Dauphin, et fut ſ'embarquer à Boulogne (3 janvier 1364). Edouard III. et ſes barons l'accueillirent avec ſympathie, et le traitèrent avec magnificence;

[53] L'acte de cette donation fut paſſé à Nogent ſur Marne le 6 ſeptembre 1363; mais il fut tenu ſecret pendant ſix ſemaines, et ce n'eſt qu'au mois d'octobre que le Roi ordonna au Chancelier de Bourgogne de délivrer les patentes à ſon fils. Encore celui-ci ne prit-il ſon nouveau titre qu' après la mort de ſon père; juſques là il conſerva le titre de Duc de Tourraine, et gouverna le Duché comme Lieutenant du Roi. (*Hiſtoire de Bourgogne.*)

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pendant trois mois ce ne fut que fêtes et que plaiſirs; l'inſouciant monarque ſemblait avoir complètement oublié et la Croiſade et ſon royaume, lorſque la mort le ſurprit à l'hôtel de Savoye après une courte maladie (8 avril 1364). Il fut regretté en Angleterre, où il ſe plaiſait et où il avait beaucoup d'amis; il ne le fut guères en France, où ſes qualités perſonnelles ne pouvaient faire oublier les fautes et les déſaſtres de ſon règne.

Dès que cette nouvelle parvint à Paris, Denys de Collors ſ'empreſſa de remettre au nouveau Roi Charles V. tous les bijoux qui lui avaient été confiés par ſon père. Il lui en fut donné décharge par lettres royales du 4 Mai 1364. C'eſt l'expédition certifiée de cette pièce que l'on trouvera plus loin (No. 3) avec les deux inventaires qui y étaient joints (Nos. 4 et 5).

Encore quelques obſervations pure-

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ment matérielles ſur la première et la plus importante des pièces que nous publions çi-après.

Voici comment le compte eſt diſpoſé. Le libellé des articles occupe le milieu et à peu près les deux tiers de la largeur des pages. Les chiffres de recette ou de dépenſe ſont portés à la marge de droite, et repréſentent des livres, ſous et deniers " d'eſterlin." L'autre marge et le bas des pages ſont chargés, ſoit de notes deſtinées à éclairer ſur le mode d'encaiſſement des recettes et d'acquittement des dépenſes, ſur les payements en retard, &c., ſoit de ſignes et de récapitulations de chiffres deſtinés à faciliter la vérification des comptes. Enfin, en regard de chaque article de dépenſe, on trouve, à la marge de gauche, un mot indiquant à quel ordre de dépenſes il appartient : " Robes," ſ'il ſ'agit d'habillements pour le Roi ou pour ſon fils ; " Hernois," ſ'il ſ'agit

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d'approviſionnements, de livrées, d'uſtenſiles, de tranſports, &c.; " Chambre," pour les épices et quelques autres articles; " Offerandes," " Dons," " Aumoſnes," " Debtes," " Joyaux," " Chapelle," n'ont pas beſoin d'explication.

La copie, qui préſentait quelques difficultés à cauſe de la grande quantité des abréviations, a été faite par un éléve diſtingué de l'école des Chartes, M. Bertrandy; elle eſt parfaitement conforme à l'original. Nous avons ſeulement ſupprimé les ſignes et les récapitulations de chiffres, qui, ſans rien ajouter au ſens, auraient inutilement compliqué l'impreſſion. Tout le reſte eſt ſcrupuleuſement reproduit.

Quelques notes, de notre fait, donnent l'explication de certains mots; ces interprétations ſont empruntées, ſoit à Ducange, ſoit au gloſſaire de Roquefort, ſoit à celui qui accom-

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pagne les comptes publiés par la Société de l'Hiſtoire de France. Quant aux mots qui n'avaient pas été expliqués ailleurs et que nous n'avons pu comprendre, nous nous ſommes bornés à les accompagner d'un point d'interrogation. Nous n'avons pas non plus cherché à donner la définition des diverſes ſortes d'épices achetées pour la Chambre du Roi; on peut trouver à cet égard toute eſpèce de renſeignements dans " le Ménagier de Paris."

Deux ou trois notes ſeulement ſ'appliquent aux perſonnes; les éclairciſſements que nous pouvions donner à ce ſujet étant rapportés dans l'introduction.

Tous les comptes, avons-nous dit, ſont réglés en livres, ſous et deniers ſterling. On ſ'en convaincra en jetant un regard ſur quelques articles, et d'ailleurs de Collors le déclare dans le préambule de la dépenſe extraor-

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dinaire. Le document qu'on va lire fixe donc d'une manière certaine la valeur relative de la monnaie Anglaiſe et des diverſes monnaies qui avaient alors cours en France; il nous éclaire auſſi ſur le taux du change, puiſqu'il fallait convertir en eſpèces nouvelles ſur la place de Londres tous les fonds que le Roi Jean tirait de ſon royaume. Nous avons penſé que le lecteur aimerait à trouver réunis ici quelques renſeignements extraits, ſoit du compte lui-même, ſoit de Du Cange, ſoit du traité des Monnoyes de Leblanc.[54]

Rappelons d'abord que la monnaie Anglaiſe avait une valeur beaucoup plus ſtable que la monnaie Françaiſe. Ainſi, de 1158 à 1295, le rapport du denier pariſis au marc d'argent avait varié de 55 à 66, tandis que celui du denier ſterling au même marc n'avait

[54] Traité hiſtorique des Monnoyes de France. Amſterdam, 1692.

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pas changé. Pendant le 14ᵉ ſiècle, l'altération des monnaies fut encore plus fréquente en France que pendant le ſiècle précédent ; mais la monnaie Anglaiſe ne paraît pas en avoir été atteinte.

En 1359 :

La Livre ſterling ſe diviſait, comme aujourd'hui, en 20 ſols ou ſchillings, et le ſol en 12 deniers ou pence ;

Le Noble, monnaie d'or anglaiſe, valait 6ˢ 8ᵈ ſterling ;

Le Florin de Florence, 4ˢ ſterling (en 1346, il valait 10ˢ pariſis) ;

Le Mouton, monnaie d'or françaiſe, 4ˢ ſterling ;

L'Ecu de Philippe, ou écu français frappé ſous le règne de Philippe VI., 3ˢ 4ᵈ ſterling (il valait, en 1355, 15ˢ 4ᵈ pariſis) ;

L'Ecu de Jehan, ou écu français frappé ſous le règne de Jean le Bon, 2ˢ 8ᵈ ſterling (il valait, en 1355, 13ˢ 4ᵈ pariſis) ;

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L'Ecu de Flandres, 3ˢ 4ᵈ ſterling ;
Le petit Florin, 2ˢ 7ᵈ ſterling ;
Le Gros, 4ᵈ ſterling.

Ainſi, pour nous arrêter aux deux eſpèces monétaires qui étaient le plus en uſage dans les deux pays, la Livre ſterling valait ſix Ecus de Philippe. Or, ſ'il en faut croire Leblanc, il fut payé pour la rançon du Roi Jean trois millions d'écus, qui valaient alors 1,500,000 Nobles Anglais, et qui, en 1692, auraient valu 21,412,500 Livres de France ; d'où on peut conclure que la Livre ſterling de 1359 aurait valu 42 Livres tournois en 1692.

Un dernier renſeignement. Il ſera pluſieurs fois queſtion de chevaux dans les comptes, et on les y trouvera déſignés par des noms différents dont nous allons tâcher d'indiquer ici le ſens.

Le Deſtrier était le cheval de bataille, très grand, très fort, ſuſcep-

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tible de porter et le cavalier armé de toutes pièces, et les pièces d'armure dont le cheval lui-même était couvert.

Le Courſier était auſſi un cheval de guerre et de chaſſe, moins redoutable par ſa taille et ſa peſanteur, mais plus maniable et plus vîte que le deſtrier. Le lecteur verra, dans la ſeconde partie de ce mémoire, que les Courſiers de Pouille étaient fort recherchés pour la Chaſſe.[55] On rencontrera auſſi les mots, " Courſier Morel ;" nous avions penſé que cette déſignation ſ'appliquait aux chevaux barbes ; mais ſelon Ducange, l'adjectif Morel, Morellus, ſignifiait une couleur particulière, une ſorte de bai clair, ſubfuſcus.

Le Palefroi était un cheval de route qui marchait ſurtout le pas et l'amble.

[55] C'eſt ſur un Courſier de Pouille que Gaces de la Buigne fait monter le Roi, dans ſon récit de la Chaſſe du cerf.

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Le Rouſſin ou Ronçin était auſſi un cheval de route, mais moins diſtingué.

La Haquenée ou jument de ſelle, recherchée pour la douceur de ſes allures, ne ſervait jamais pour la Chaſſe ni pour le combat.

Voici enfin les pièces que nous regrettons d'avoir fait attendre ſi longtemps à nos lecteurs.

No. 1.

C'eſt le compte de la deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy de France, faicte en Angleterre et paiée par Denys de Collors, chapellain du dit Seigneur, depuis le jour de Noël xxv^e^ jour de décembre CCCLVIII, que Jehannin Leſquevin deleſſa à faire la dicte deſpenſe, qui paravant en eſtoit chargiez, juſques au premier jour de Juillet CCCLIX en ſuivant.

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RECEPTE.

De Jehannin Leſquevin, le XXV^e^ jour de décembre CCCLVIII, en III^c^ nobles, VI^s^ VIII^d^ pièce, valent C^l^ d'eſterlins.

De li, le darrein jour de ce mois, en C nobles à ce pris, valent XXXIII^l^ VI^s^ VIII^d^ d'eſterlins.

De li, le VII^e^ jour de Janvier, en compte, XXIII^l^ XIII^s^ VII^d^ obole.

De li, en debtes qui li eſtoient deues, contenues en I rôle qu'il a baillié à ſa décharge, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, CVII^s^ X^d^, les parties ou dit rôle.

De li, ſamblablement en deniers comptés en III parties contenues ou dit rôle, XL^s^ II^d^.

De Guillaume Vidal, maiſtre des pors et paſſages du Royaume de France, par la main Bernart Danet, pour II^m^ moutons qu'il envoya au Roy, change fait à Londres par François Bendin, de laquèle ſomme il a deſcharge du Roy; valent les diz moutons IIII^s^ pièce: IIII^c l^ eſterlins; dont il eſt à rabatre LX^s^ d'eſterlins pour le change par accort fait au dit François par Maiſtre Jehan le Royer et Jehan Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel; demore III^c^ IIII^xx^ XVII^l l^ eſter-

[1] En marge on lit: " Des dictes III^c^ IIII^xx^ XVII^l^, je n'aye receu en comptant que III^c^ LXVIII^l^, et le demorant qui monte XXIX^l^ a eſté pour debte que l'on devoit à François Bendin du temps Eſquevin qui montait XXI^l^ VI^s^ VIII^d^, et pour Gaucher de Vannes IIII^l^ XIII^s^ IIII^d^, et à

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lins, le XXIV^e^ jour de janvier CCCLVIII [2].

De Bernart François, receveur de Nymes, par la main P. Scatiſſe, tréſorier du Roy, de IIII^m^ petiz florins des émolumens de la dicte recepte du terme de la Saint Michiel darrain paſſée, renduz au Roy en III^m^ IIII^c^ LII eſcus de Flandre, dont maiſtre Derian reçut à Bruges pour départir à aucuns officiers du Roy qui, de ſon commandement, ſ'en alèrent à ce temps en France, VI^c^ LII eſcuz, et je receu le demourant en nobles, c'eſt aſſavoir, en mil IIII^c^ nobles, et furent délivréz à Londres, ce jour, par François Bandin, valent IIII^c^ LXVI^l^ XIII^s^ IIII^d^ eſterlins.

J'ay baillé par devers le maiſtre d'oſtel toute la recepte faicte juſques cy.

De Jehan d'Arraz, bourgeois de Troyes, commis illec à recevoir l'impoſition de VIII^d^ pour livre et la gabelle du ſel, envoiez au Roy de Troyes en Angleterre, aſportez par Pierre Chevalier, varlet de chambre du Roy, la valeur de V^c^ florins au mouton, c'eſt aſſavoir : en III^c^ LXIX moutons, IIII^s^ eſterlins pièce, valent LXXIII^l^ XVI^s^ eſterlins ; et en VII^XX^ XVII eſcuz de Philippe, III^s^ IIII^d^ eſterlins pièce, valent XXVI^l^ III^s^ IIII^d^ eſterlins ; et en menue monnaie

Thénes de Bronne LX^s^ que le dit François doit paier, et le Roi en eſt quitte."

[2] Vieux ſtyle. Suivant notre calendrier, on était déjà en 1359 ; mais on ſait qu' alors en France, l'année commençait à Pâques. Cette obſervation ſ'applique à pluſieurs dates rapportées dans cette pièce et les ſuivantes.

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VIII[d] eſterlins ; pour tout, C[l] eſterlins valent les diz V[c] moutons, dont il chiet, pour deniers baillez par le dit Chevalier au confeſſeur du Roy eſtant en France, XXIIII moutons, qui valent IIII[l] XVI[s] eſterlins. Demore en recepte faicte le XV[e] jour de février CCCLVIII, IIII[xx] XV[l] IIII[s] eſterlins.

De maiſtre Yve Derian, ſecrétaire du Roy, pour certainne recepte qu'il avoit faicte de pluſieurs perſonnes et pluſieurs ſommes de florins en trois parties,[3] ſi comme plus aplain eſt contenu en I compte particulier fait ſur la dicte recepte, et la deſpenſe qu'il en a faicte ; lequel il a rendu, préſent le maiſtre d'oſtel : VI[c] IIII[xx] II eſcuz de Flandres et de Philippe, III[s] IIII[d] pièce, valent CXIII[l] XIII[s] IIII[d],—XXII[e] jour de février.

De Jehannin Leſquevin, ſur ce qu'il povoit devoir au Roy, par le reſte de ſon compte fait ſur la deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy, le dymenche X[e] jour de mars CCCLVIII, c'eſt aſſavoir : par J. de Danville, XX[l] XV[s] IIII[d] ; par Gopillet, XXV[s] VIII[d] ; Item pour crapois[4] et en comptant, CXI[s] ; ainſin pour tout, XXVIII[l], (chiffre illiſible) jour de mars.

[3] A la marge on lit : " entre les quelles ſont contenuz les VI[c] LII eſcuz qu'il receut à Bruges de III[m] IIII[c] LII eſcuz que l'on rend au Roy pour les deſſus diz IIII[m] petiz florins, ſi comme deſſus eſt dit en la partie de Bernart François."

[4] Baleine ſalée ; aliment groſſier fort en uſage. Craſpicis, craſſus piſcis, ſeu balena.

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De Bernart François, receveur de Nymes, par la main maiſtre Yves Darian, ſecrétaire du Roy, des revenus de la dicte recepte du terme de la Sainct Michiel paſſée, mil moutons, qui ont valu, renduz à Londres, XLVII[d] pour pièce: C IIII[XX] XV[l] XVI[s] VIII[d] d'eſterlins.

De Eſtienne Roſier de Montpellier, Jehan Rocher, du Puy, et Eſtienne Sauveur de Nymes, meſſagiers envoiez devers le Roy en Angleterre de par les communes de la Senechaucie de Beaucaire, pour III[m] III[c] XXXIII petiz florins et I tiers, que il diſoient avoir baillié a Avignon pour leur en rendre à Bruges, par change et marchié fait, II[m] III[c] LIII moutons de France; leſquiex florins les dictes communes envoioient au Roy en don et préſent pour ſon vivre en Angleterre, et de Bruges furent rendus à Londres au pris de IIII[s] d'eſterlins pour mouton; pour ce, IIII[c] LXX[l] XII[s].

De March Montanier et Barthelemy de Saint Nazary, meſſagiers envoiez, comme dit eſt, de par les communes et de la Senechaucie de Carcaſſone, pour III[m] petiz florins, bailliéz par ſemblable change pour leur en rendre à Bruges II[m] CXVII moutons de France, les quiex florins les dictes communes envoièrent au Roy et donnèrent, comme dit eſt, et valut à Londres chaſcun mouton XLVII[d]; pour ce, IIII[c] XIIII[l] XI[s] VII[d] [5].

[5] On lit à la marge cette note qui ſ'applique aux trois articles précédents: " Toutes ces parties et la partie

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De Meſſ^e Bernart Vignes et Meſſ^e Arnault Bernart Roux, chevaliers, meſſagés envoyez de par les communes de la Sénéchauſſée de Tholoſe, pour II^m CL petiz florins, baillez à Avignon pour leur en rendre à Bruges mil VI^c XII eſcuz viez et demi, qui font III eſcuz viez pour IIII petiz florins; donnez au Roy, comme devant eſt dit; et furent renduz à Londres mil XXIX eſcuz viez, chaſcun pour III^s IX^d eſterlins, qui font CIIII^xx XII^l XVIII^s IX^d; et V^c IIII^xxIII eſcuz viez et demi qui demourèrent, furent renduz et mis chaſcun pour III^s IX^d obole, qui font CX^l XII^s V^d poictevine, eſterlins; pour tout, III^c III^l XI^s II^d poitevine, eſterlins[6].

XV^e d'Avril CCCLVIII,

De Henry Piquart, bourgeois de Londres, pour emprumpt fait par li, ſi comme il dit, de certains marcheans de Londres, qui ont preſté

en ſuivant de Meſſ^e Bernart Vignes ont eſté receues et avaluées par M. Yves, et en a fait les paimens à Adam de Bury et Henry Picart et autres, ſi comme il appert par un rôlet de papier eſcript de ſa main; fors ſeulement que j'ay receu les V^c IIII^xx III eſcuz viez et demi contenus en la partie de Meſſ^e Bernart Vignes, et les ay baillez à Michiel Girart en paiement de ce que l'on li devoit pour le compte qui fu fait entre li et moy le dymenche XXVIII^e jour d'avril CCCLIX."

[6] On lit à la marge: "Ceſte partie a eſté receue, avec les autres III parties précédentes, par M^r Yves." Notons que ces mots, "obole, poictevine," ainſi placés là et ailleurs, ſignifient l'appoint du compte, c'eſt à dire, une obole, une poictevine. L'obole était la moitié du denier, la poictevine la moitié de l'obole.

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au Roy, à ſa requeſte, IIIm eſcuz; leſquiex il n'ont baillié par accort fait que pour IIIs Id pièce, et le Roy en doit rendre IIIs IIId pour pièce dedans la feſte de . . . ; valent les diz IIIm eſcuz, IIIs Id pièce, IIIIc LXIIl Xs.

VIIIe de may CCCLIX,

De Robin le Sauffier, pour deniers par li receuz, ſi comme il diſoit, d'une reſtitution faite par I Anglois qui avoit ja pieça emblé en l'oſtel du Roy pluſieurs eſcuelles d'argent, pour lequel cas il avoit eſté empriſonnez par le pourchaz dudit Robin; pour ce, receu, préſent le maiſtre d'oſtel, XII nobles, valent IIIIl.

XVIIe jour de Juing CCCLIX,

De Raoul de Lile, receveur de Tholoſe et général[7] de la Langue d'Oc, pour deniers mis et baillez par li, du commandement du Roy, pour le prix de IXxx XIIII tonneaux de vin que il a fait acheter nagaires en Tholoſain et ès parties d'environ, pour envoier en Angleterre, pour la proviſion et deſpenſe du Roy et de ſon hoſtel; et pour les fraiz et miſſes faiz pour les diz vins et pour autres XX tonneaux de vin que l'eveſque de Leſtoire[8] et l'abbé de Grant Silve ont envoié de préſent au Roy, avec iceulx vins d'achat, tant en voictures comme en paages et autres fraiz pour ce néceſſaires, juſques à

[7] Des finances. On ſait que l'ancienne diviſion financière de la France était en généralités.

[8] Lectoure (voir l'introduction).

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tant qu'il furent chargiez à Bordeaux en nef pour amener en Angleterre ; et auffi pour les deſpens de Guichart de Loraix et frère Pierre Poittevin, conduiſeurs des diz vins, en venant des dictes parties en Angleterre et retournant ; ſi comme il puet apparoir par II comptes particuliers, faiz et renduz par les diz Guichart et frère P. ſur ce, et oyz par Jehan de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel ; leſquiex IX^xx XIIII tonneaux de vin d'achat et XX tonneaux de préſent n'ont fait à Londres, renduz plains et affis ſur chantier ès celiers du Roy, tous dechiez et emplages rabatuz, que VIII^xx VIII tonneaux pour tout ; pour ce, pour les diz deniers ainſin mis et baillez dont le dit Raoul a deſcharge du Roy, le dit XVII^e jour, IIII^m XVIII florins de Florence, III^s eſterlins pièce, valent VI^c II^l XIII^s.

Le XVIII^e jour de Juing,

De Bernart François, receveur de Nymes, par P. Scatiſſe, tréſorier du Roy, des émolumens de la dicte recepte, pour VIII^m V^c petiz florins, envoiez au Roy pour ſon vivre, dont l'on fiſt change d'Avignon à Bruges et de Bruges à Londres ; et ont valu au Roy, à Londres, ce qui ſ'enſuit, c'eſt aſſavoir : VI^m petiz florins de la ſomme deſſus dicte ont valu V^m LXII eſcuz et demi du conte, et premièrement par Francois Bandin III^m CXVIII eſcuz, XXXIX^d pièce, valent V^c VI^l XIII^s VI^d ; et par Ph. Grunande, V^c eſcuz, au pris de XXXIX^d et I quart par eſcu, valent IIII^xx I^l XV^s V^d ; Item par li meſmes,

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v^c LXIIII eſcus et demi, à XXXIX^d pièce, valent IIII^xx VIII^l IX^s VII^d. obole; et par Luce, IIII^c eſcuz du conte, à XXXIX^d et I quart par pièce, valent LXV^l VIII^s IIII^d; et par un autre marchand Anglois, v^c eſcuz à ce pris, valent IIII^xx I^l XV^s V^d; et les II^m v^c petiz florins demorés ont valu au Roy, à Londres, par les males, baillés par change et accort fait par P. Scatiſſe, ſi comme maiſtre Mathe, ſon clerc, l'a rapporté, III^c LI^l IIII^s IX^d eſterlins. Pour tout XI^c LXXV^l VII^s obole, eſterlins [9].

Le XXVI^e jour de Juing,

Du receveur de Troyes, par la main P. Chevalier, varlet de chambre du Roy, ſur ce que l'on doit au Roy entre les debtes ordinaires et extraordinaires de Macy de Flory et Guerin de Moret, jadis receveur de Champagne, deſquèles exploicter ledit receveur a mandement, III^c eſcuz de Philippe, III^s IIII^d pièce, valent L^l.

Le XXVII^e jour,

De pluſieurs perſonnes dont les noms ſ'enſuivent, pour vin à eulx venduz des garniſons de vin du Roy eſtans à Londres, ledict jour, c'eſt aſſavoir: Jehan le Perrier, pour I tonnel

[9] On lit à la marge en regard de cet article: "L'on m'en doit de reſte IIII^xx II^l VI^s V^d obole," et plus bas, "Memento que j'ay receu de Chevalier, par la main Henrion, le XXVI^e jour de juing, III^c eſcuz de Philippe, dont l'on en baillia à ſon varlet I pour deſpens à ſa venue qui fu mis en deſpenſe."

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de vin de l'achat Raoul de Lile, vendu x mars d'eſterlins, valent VI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d].

De Adam de Béry, pour XXX tonneaux de vin dudit achat venduz à li, chaſcun tonneau IX mars d'eſterlins, valent IX[XXl]; dont il chiet pour XXV ſetiers de vin que les diz XXX tenoient moins de moiſon, L[s]; demore VIII[XX] XVII[l] X[s].

De Waccquin Doguet, XIII tonneaux de l'achat ja pieça faict de Adam de Béry, chaſcun tonneau IX mars, valent LXXVIII[l]; dont il chiet pour XXI ſetiers de vin qu'il tenoient moins de moiſon, XLIII[s] X[d] obole; demore LXXV[l] XVI[s] I[d] obole.

De Geuffroy le tonnelier, pour I tonneau du dit achat à li vendu, VI[l].

Samedy XXIX[e] jour de Juing.

De Jehan Bigot de Bédiers[10] et Bérangier Lait de Narbonne, meſſagers envoiez en Angleterre devers le Roy pour le viſiter de par les villes de Bédiers et Narbonne, pour IIII[c] IIII[XX] XV moutons que les dites villes envoioient au Roy en don, qui li ont valu à Londres, IIII[s] pour mouton, paiez par la main maiſtre Mathe acceptant, IIII[XX] XIX[l] eſterlins.

Somme de toute la recepte fait par tout le temps deſſus dit, V[m] III[c] IX[l] X[d] obole poictevine.

[10] Béziers.

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Deſpenſe ordinaire des VI offices de l'oſtel du Roy paiée par moy Denys de Collors, chapellain du dit Seigneur, depuis le XXV^e^ jour de décembre CCCLVIII, que Jehannin Eſquevin ſe deleſſa de le faire, et j'en fu chargé par la volenté et commandement du Roy; laquèle deſpenſe a eſté paiée par le commandement de Jehan de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel du dit Seigneur, juſques . . .

Décembre, c'eſt aſſavoir depuis le dit XXV^e^ jour de ce mois juſques au premier jour de Janvier en ſuivant, qui font VII jours.

Pour les diz VII jours pour la deſpenſe des VI offices de l'oſtel, ſanz garniſons et préſens,[11] XXXVI^l^ VIII^s^ VI^d^ obole.

Item, la ſomme du Journal des diz jours, hors les diz offices, LXXIII^l^ II^d^.

Garniſons et préſens deſpenſez en ce temps:

Eſchanconnerie:

De l'achat Pierre Ernaut, du IIII^e^ jour d'avril, IX muis, V ſetiers;

[11] Sans compter ce qui était pris dans les garniſons, c'eſt-a-dire dans les magaſins du Roi, ou ſur les préſents qui lui étaient faits.

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Du préſent Madame de Garenne, II muis, XI ſetiers ;

Du préſent l'abbé de Grant Silve, III muis, VII ſetiers.

Cuiſine : Du préſent Madame de Garenne, XXXVI connins [12].

Janvier.

La deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy pour les VI offices monte pour le dit mois, hors garniſons et préſent, VII^{xx} XVI^{l} XVII^{s} I^{d}.

Item : la ſomme du Journal du dit mois, ſans les diz VI offices, monte IX^{xx} XIII^{l} VIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Garniſons et préſens deſpenſéz en ce mois :

Eſchanconnerie :

De l'achat P. Ernaut, du IIII^{e} jour d'avril, XLVI muis, XI ſetiers ;

Du préſent Madame de Garenne, III muis, VI ſetiers ;

Du préſent l'abbé de Grant Silve, XIII muis, II ſetiers.

Cuiſine : du préſent Madame de Garenne, VI dains.

Eſpices de la garniſon de Bruges :

Canelle, XI livres ;

Noiz mugètes, II livres.

Février, et commença au venredy, et a XXVIII jours.

La deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy pour les VI

[12] Connins ou conils, lapins.

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offices monte pour le dit mois, ſans garniſons et préſens, IIc XLVIl XIXs VIIId.

La ſomme du Journal du dit mois, ſanz les diz VI offices, monte IIc IIIIl VIs VIIId.

Garniſons et préſens deſpenſéz en ce dit mois :

Eſchanconnerie :

De l'achat P. Ernaut, du IIIIe jour d'avril.

Du préſent l'Abbé de Grant Silve.

Cuiſine :

Du préſent Madame de Garainnes.[13]

Mars.

La deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy pour les VI offices monte, pour le dit mois, hors garniſons et préſens, IIIIc IIIIl VIIId.[14]

La ſomme du Journal du dit mois, ſans les diz VI offices, monte CVIl XVIIIs XId.

Garniſons et préſens deſpenſéz en ce mois :

Eſchançonnerie :

Vin de l'achat P. Ernaut, du IIIIe jour d'avril, XXVI muis, XV ſetiers ;

De l'achat Thomas Vanvreurt, du VIIe jour de février, III muis, XI ſetiers ;[15]

[13] Les quantités conſommées ne ſont pas mentionnées dans le compte.

[14] On lit à la marge : " Memento que l'on doit croiſtre ceſte ſomme pour cauſe de l'achat des vins faits en ce mois." Cette note qui ſe trouve à la marge de gauche eſt barrée.

[15] En regard de ces articles qui ſont ſoulignés, on lit à la marge : " Ces arties roiées ne doivent point

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Du préſent de l'Abbé de Grant Silve, VIII muis, XIV ſetiers ;

De l'achat Jehan Michiel, du VII^e^ jour de février, VI muis et demi ; [15a]

De l'achat Michiel Girart, du XXIII^e^ jour de février, IX muis. [15a]

Cuiſine : du préſent la dame de Gareinne, II dains ;

De elle, VI luz ; [16]

De la dame de Pambroc, III luz et III brêmes ; [17]

De Derre (?) Dugardin, bourgeois de Bruges, V quermaux de crapois.

Fruiterie : de la dicte Bethe (?) préſent : I cabaz de figues et I cabaz de raiſins de Mélite, [18] II^c^ de poire de Saint Riule, XX^l^ de dates et XVIII de groſſes noiz.

Avril.

La deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy, pour les VI offices, monte pour ledit mois, ſanz l'achat des garniſons de vin P. Ernaut, VIII^xx^ XVIII^l^ XIII^s^ VIII^d^.

eſtre rapportées, quar le vin a eſté acheté à argent qui eſt compté en l'ordinaire deſpenſe de l'oſtel, contenue au flanc du compte." Nous n'avons pas rapporté ces chiffres inſcrits ſur les marges, perſonne n'ayant ſans doute intérêt à vérifier les additions de Denys de Collors.

[15a] Même obſervation. [16] Brochets.

[17] Autres poiſſons d'eau douce.

[18] Malte.

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La ſomme du Journal du dit mois, ſanz les diz offices, monte XIIIc XVIl XVIIs XId obole.

Garniſons et préſens deſpenſez et faiz en ce mois :

Eſchançonnerie :

Vin de l'achat P. Arnault, du IIIIe jour d'avril, XVI muis, X ſetiers ;

Du préſent la dame de Garainne, I tonneau de vin blanc d'Eſpagne.[19]

May.

Pour ſemblable de ce mois des diz VI offices, ſanz garniſons, VIxx VIIl IIIIs VId.

La ſomme du Journal de ce mois, ſans les diz VI offices, monte VIIxx XIIIl VIs Id.

Garniſons deſpenſéz en ce mois :

Eſchanconnerie :

Vin de l'achat Pierre Arnault, du IIIIe jour d'avril, XVI muis, V ſetiers.

Juing.

Pour ſamblable de ce mois des diz VI offices, CVIIl XIIIs obole.

La ſomme du Journal de ce mois, ſans les diz VI offices, XIIIc LXVIIIl XVIIs IIId.

Garniſons deſpenſées en ce mois :

Eſchançonnerie : du préſent l'abbé de Grant Silve, V muis.

Somme toute de la deſpenſe ordinaire et ex-

[19] On lit à la marge : " Memento qu'il n'eſt pas deſpenſé."

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traordinaire, par tout le temps deſſus dit, IIII^{m} VI^{c} LXXIIII^{l} XII^{s} VII^{d}.

Et la recepte monte V^{m} III^{c} IX^{l} X^{d} ob. poictevine.

Ainſin, doy : VI^{c} XXXIV^{l} VIII^{s} III^{d} obole.

Item ; pour trop pris ſur le Roy en pluſieurs eſcroés : [20] VII^{s} II^{d}.

Item ; pour ſemblable des debtes Leſquevin ſur Adam de Béry, XXXIIII^{s} X^{d}.

Somme du reſte et de ces II parties, VI^{c} XXXVI^{l} X^{s} III^{d} obole poictevine.

Dont il chiet, pour perte faicte en l'office par le temps deſſus dit, XIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Demore que je doy VI^{c} XXXV^{l} XVI^{s} XI^{d} obole poictevine.

Et fu ce compte oy, ſi comme il appert plus a plain par I rôle en parchemin ſigné en la fin de la main du Roy, le XXVIII^{e} jour d'aouſt CCCLIX à Sonbretonne,[21] par Monſ^{r} le Conte de Sancerre, maiſtre G. Racine et J. de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel, commis et députez à ce depar le Roy.

Journal de la deſpenſe extraordinaire de l'oſtel du Roy de France, faicte en Angleterre, paiée du commandement Jehan de Danville, maiſ-

[20] Pièces de comptabilité.
[21] Sommerton.

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tre d'oſtel d'iceli Seigneur, par moy Denys de Collors, ſon chapellain, depuis le xxv^e^ jour de décembre CCCLVIII, que je fu chargiez de faire les diz paiemens, juſques . . . .

Décembre, c'eſt aſſavoir du xxv^e^ jour de ce mois juſques au premier jour de Janvier enſuivant, c'eſt aſſavoir que touz deniers, foulz et livres ſont d'eſtellins.

Offerandes. Pour offerandes baillées au Roy par Poupart, le jour de Noël qui fu le dit xxv^e^ jour de décembre CCCLVIII, en IIII nobles, xxvi^s^ viii^d^ eſterlins.

Hernois. Jehan Deſteforde, pour appareiller la fontainne qui vient en la cuiſine en l'oſtel de Savoie, v^s^ vi^d^.

Id. Berthelemin Mine, eſpicier, pour II mains de papier de la grand forme, xx^d^.[22]

Deniers au Roy. Au Roy, le xxx^e^ jour de décembre, pour mettre en ſes coffres à faire ſa volenté : C. eſcuz de Philippe, valent L nobles ; noble, vi^s^ viii^d^ ; valent xvi^l^ xiii^s^ iiii^d^.

Debtes du temps J. Leſquevin. A Berthelemin Mine, pour deniers a li deuz du temps de Leſquevin, leſquiex il a baillez en debte, xlviii^l^ xiiii^s^ ii^d^ obole.

Eſpices de Chambre. Berthelemin Mine, eſpicier à Londres :

Pour III boêtes de paſte roial et. . . ;

[22] Article barré.

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poiſent quarante et une livres, la livre XVII^{d} ; valent LVIII^{s} I^{d} ;

Item, XII livres ſucre, XXI^{d} livre, XXI^{s} ;

Item, une livre girofle, IIII^{s} ;

Item, une livre gingembre, XII^{d} ;

Item, un quarteron macis, XII^{d} ;

Li, pour II quaiers de papier de la grant forme, XX^{d} ;

Pour tout, IIII^{l} VI^{s} IX^{d}.

Somme de ces II parties : LIII^{l} XI^{d} obole.

Paié au dit Barthelemy, le XV^{e} jour de février, XL^{l} VIII^{d}.[23]

Pour la façon de I pourpoint de ſoie vermeille pour Meſſ^{e} Philippe : pour cire de bougie à ciré le dit pourpoint, IIII^{d} ; pour II livres de chandelle de ſuif, IIII^{d} ; pour fil blanc, II^{d} ; pour une once de ſoye ardant, XX^{d} ; Pour I quarteron de ſoie noire a faire les botons, V^{d} ; Pour la façon des boutons, XVIII^{d} ; Pour la fronce, XX^{d} ; Pour cervoiſe,[24] VI^{d} ; Pour XIII journées de Perrin Conte, VI^{s} VI^{d} ; Pour XVIII laſnières de dain, VIII^{d} ; Pour un quarteron de noire ſoie pour les boutons, V^{d} ;[25] Pour tout, XIII^{s} IX^{d}. Robes.

Pour la façon un autre porpoint de drap d'or pour li : Pour II aunes et demie de toile, II^{s} Robes.

[23] Au bas de la page, on lit : " Les XL^{l} VIII^{d} d'eſterlins paiés à Berthelemin Mine ont eſté paiez : en VI^{xx} eſcuz de Philippe, III^{s} IIII^{d} pièce, valent XX^{l} XV^{s} VIII^{d} ; et en III^{xx} XI moutons, IIII^{s} pièce, valent XVIII^{l} IIII^{s}."

[24] Sorte de bière qu'on donnait aux ouvriers.

[25] Cette partie eſt biffée.

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vi^{d} ; Pour ii onces de ſoie, iii^{s} ; Pour iii quarterons de chandelle de bougie, vi^{d} ; Pour iii livres de chandelle de ſuif, vi^{d} ; Pour la façon de iiii^{xx} boutons, xviii^{d} ; Pour iiii laſnières de dain, ii^{d} ; Pour demi quartier de ſendal[26] noir pour garnir les manches d'une des cotes[27] du Roy, iiii^{d} ; Pour i onces de fil à aſſeoir les manches, ii^{d} ; Pour les journées de ii compaignons, viii jours, chaſcun vi^{d}, valent viii^{s} ; Pour cervoiſe, viii^{d} ; Pour livre et demie de coton, x^{d} obole ; Pour l'eſcarder, iii^{d} ; Pour tout, xviii^{s} v^{d} obole.[28]

Chapelle. Pour aſporter les orgues en Savoie, vi^{d}.

Offerande. Le curé de Saint Climent, pour les offerandes du Roy de vii jours de ce mois, dont l'on rabat le jour de Noel qu'il receut l'offerande, pour ce, xii^{d}.

Somme lxxiii^{l} ii^{d} eſterlins.

Janvier cccLviii, et commença au mardy, et contient xxxi jours.

Robes. Meſſ^{r} Philippe : pour iii aunes et demie de gris, iiii^{s} l'aune, xiiii^{s} ; Pour iii aunes et demie de blanchet, ii^{s} vi^{d} l'aune, viii^{s} xi^{d} ; Pour eſtoffes et pour fil et autres choſes contenues en la cédule, viii^{s} ii^{d} ; pour tout, xxx^{s} xi^{d}.[29]

[26] Sendal ou Cendal, ſorte de taffetas.
[27] Vêtement de deſſous, à manches.
[28] En note, pour ces deux parties : " paié par Geuffroy Touze."
[29] Article biffé.

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Pour I^c de getoers[30] et une bourſe à les mettre, XVIII^d. Hernois.

Pour IIII liaces d'aguillettes, I^d.

Barthélemy, changeur, pour change de IIII nobles à menue monnoie, II^d pièce, VIII^d.

Michiel Gerart, pour I quarteron mierre, et demie livre d'anſens, le V^e jour de Janvier, XII^d.[31] Chapelle.

Monſ^r Philippe, pour don fait par li a l'ermite de Viez Mouſtier[32] à Londres, le V^e jour de Janvier, I eſcu Philippe : III^s IIII^d. Dons.

Le Roy, pour offerandes, le jour de la Thiphaine,[33] le VI^e jour de Janvier, XII^s. Offerandes.

Le Conte d'Aucerre, pour I faucon que le Roy li a donné; paié au baſtart du dit Conte, du commandement J. de Danville, le VII^e jour, IX nobles, valent LX^s. Don.

Le Roy des Meneſtereux, du commandement du Roy et du maiſtre d'oſtel, le VIII^e jour de Janvier, III eſcuz Philippe : X^s; pour l'auloge.[34] Hernois.

Girardin, varlet maiſtre Jehan le fol, pour rappareiller les pannes[35] du dit maiſtre Jeh., et pour I panne noire neuve à mettre en une vieille côte hardie,[36] pour le dit maiſtre Jeh., le X^e jour, III^s IIII^d. Hernois.

[30] Jetons dont on ſe ſervait pour compter.
[31] Article biffé.
[32] Weſtminſter.
[33] Epiphanie.
[34] Horloge.
[35] Fourrure.
[36] Sorte de robe à manche que l'on mettait pour ſortir.

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Hernois. Le dit Gerardin, pour la façon de VI toyes d'oreillers et pour orler I cuevrechief à pignier pour le Roy, II^{s}.

Hernois. Li, pour II douzaines de laſnières de ſoie, peſans VI onces, pour le Roy, et paiées ces II parties du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, le XII^{e} jour de janvier, XIII^{s}.

Girart, eſpicier, pour II quayers de papier, l'un de la grant forme et l'autre de la maindre, le XII^{e} jour, XV^{d}.[37]

Guillaume Canelle, cordoannier à Londres, pour II dozainnes de paires de ſoliers pour Monſ^{r} Philippe, VII^{s} la douzaine, valent XIIII^{s}; et pour I eſtuiaux[38] de vache, V^{s}; et pour I eſtuef à ſoler,[39] XII^{d}; Pour tout, XX^{s}, le XIII^{e} jour de janvier; paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, pour ce, XX^{s}.[40]

Deniers à Meſſire Philippe. Monſ^{r} Philippe de France, pour faire ſa volenté, en pluſieurs parties baillées par Jehan Leſquevin, et paié par moy du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, le XVI^{e} jour de janvier, XXXV^{s} IIII^{d}.

Dons. Goupillet, varlet tranchant du Roy, pour don à li faict par yceli ſeigneur, pour avoir I mantel, XVIII^{s} I^{d}; et pour la façon d'iceli, III^{s} VIII^{d}; pour tout, XXI^{s} IX^{d}.

Debtes. Adam de Béry, pour deniers à lui deuz du

[37] Article barré.
[38] Bottes.
[39] Etui à ſouliers.
[40] " Payé à P. de Vallenciennes, ſon varlet."

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temps Jehan Eſquevin, leſquiex il a rendu en debte, IIII^{xx} XIIII^{l} VII^{s} V^{d}.[41]

François Bandin, pour ſemblable, du temps du dit Jehan, et ſamblablement renduz en debte, XXI^{l} VI^{s} VIII^{d}.[42] Debtes du temps J. Leſquevin.

Pour XVIII aunes d'eſtamine pour le Roy, le XVI^{e} jour de Janvier, XIX^{s}. Robes.

Pour faire V chemiſes pour le Roy, III^{s} IIII^{d}; à Jehanne la couſturière. Robes.

Michiel Gerart, eſpicier à Londres, XII livres ſucre blanc, XXI^{d} pour livre, valent XXI^{s}. Eſpices de Chambre.

Pour VI livres de ſucre en plat, XVI^{d} livre, valent VIII^{s}.

Li, pour une boiſte de pignolat, peſant XI livres et demie, XVI^{d} livre, valent XV^{s} IIII^{d}.

Li, XII livres de caſſon, XVIII^{d} livre, valent XVIII^{s}.

Une livre de poudre pour claré, II^{s}.

Li, le XV^{e} jour de janvier, VIII livres de ſucre en plate blanc, X^{s} VIII^{d}.

Sucre caſſons, XII livres, la livre XVIII^{d}; XVIII^{s}.

Une boîte de pignolat, XII livres, la livre XVI^{d}; valent XVI^{s}.

Li, le X^{e} jour de janvier, XII livres de groſſe dragée, XVI^{d} livre, valent XVI^{s}.

[41] "Paié par M. Yves, IIII^{xx} XII^{l} XII^{s} VII^{d}; dont le dit Adam ſe tient à content; ainſi doi au Roy XXXIII^{s} X^{d}."

[42] Article barré, avec cette note à la marge: "quorum infrà."

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VIII livres de noiz confites, XVI^{d} livre, valent X^{s} VIII^{d}.

Une livre de annis confit, XVI^{d}.

Hernois. Li, pour une main de papier de la grant forme, IX^{d}.

Pour une autre main de papier petit, IIII^{d}.

Chapelle. Li, pour demie livre d'enſens pour la chapelle, et I quarteron de mirre pour offrir le jour de la Thiphainne, XII^{d}.

Hernois. Maiſtre Nicolas le Fificien, à Londres, pour tiſainne, la matère d'un cliſtoire et ſon ſalaire de la viſitation faicte pour Meſl^{e} Jehan Rouſſel, qui eſtoit malade, paié du commandement Jehan de Danville, le XIX^{e} jour de Janvier, VII^{s}.

Robes. Monet, le barbier Monſ^{r} Philippe : pour III aunes et demie de drap gris à faire coſtes hardies et hopelandes pour Monſ^{r} Philippe, IIII^{s} l'aune, valent XIIII^{s} ; Pour III aunes et demie de blanche pour les fourrer, II^{s} VI^{d} l'aune, VIII^{s} IX^{d} ; Pour II aunes de toile, II^{s} ; Pour II unces et I quarteron de ſoie, III^{s} IIII^{d} ; Pour filz de coleurs, XVI^{d} ; Pour cendal, VIII^{d} ; Pour laſnières, VI^{d}, et pour fil pour les chauces du Roy, IIII^{d} ; Pour toutes ces choſes, XXX^{s} XI^{d}.

Robes. Geuffroy Touze, pour autres eſtoffes pour les dictes côtes et hopelandes, c'eſt aſſavoir : pour la façon de IIII^{xx} boutons, XVIII^{d} ; Pour fil blanc, IIII^{d} ; Pour II livres de chandelles de cire, IIII^{d} ; Pour XX journées de II ouvriers qui li ont aydié, chaſcun par X jours, IIII^{d} chaſcun, VI^{s} VIII^{d} ; Pour cervoiſe pour eulx, IX^{d} ; Pour tout, IX^{s} VII^{d}.

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Michiel Gérart, eſpicier à Londres, XXI^e jour de janvier, X livres de ſucre caſſon, XV^s ; Chambre.

Li, une livre de poudre à claré, II^s ;

Li, une livre de ſucre caſſetin, XXI^d ;

Somme, XVIII^s IX^d.

Li, pour IIII quaiers de papier de la grant forme et petite, XXVI^d. Hernois.

Maiſtre Gerart d'Orliens, pour I cuir de vache, pour covrir la ſelle du Roy, IIII^s. Hernois.

Magiſter, pour faire rappareiller le fuſt de la dicte celle qui eſtoit rompu, et mettre IIII bandes de fer, XVI^d. Hernois.

Geuffroy de la garde robe, le XXV^e jour, pour ſoie à faire I chaperon pour le Roy, IIII^d ; Pour fil, II^d ; et pour chandelle et cheneviz, IIII^d ; Pour tout, X^d.[43]

Monet, barbier Monſeig^r Philippe, pour acheter une malette en lieu de la ſienne que Jehan le charpentier avoit emportée, paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, le XX^e jour de Janvier, IIII^s II^d. Hernois.

Franchequin d'Odenarde, pour cires ſur la taille des fers qu'il doit faire pour pain à chanter, par le commandement du Roy, XXVI^s VIII^d.[44] Hernois.

Jehan de Pomponne, pour faire pluſieurs menues choſes pour li, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, VII^s. Hernois.

[43] Article barré.

[44] En face de cet article qui eſt barré on lit : " roié, quar tout ſe comptera quant les fers ſeront faiz."

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Dons. Meſſ^rs Jehan Rouſſel, IX nobles,
Caletot, VI nobles,
Clément, V nobles,
Barbaſtre, V nobles,
Baudement, V nobles,
Pour don fait a eulx par le Roy pour quérir leurs néceſſitez, le XXII^e jour de janvier; paié du commandement Jehan de Danville maiſtre d'oſtel, pour tout :
XXX nobles, valent X^l.

Deniers bailliez. Au Roy pour faire ſa volenté, le XXIII^e jour de janvier, XXX nobles, valent X^l.

Don. Colart Haubert, pour don fait à li le dit XXIII^e jour de Janvier, VI eſcuz Philippe, XX^s.

Hernois. Jehan, le tonnelier de Londres, pour abatre et mettre par pièces la cuve du Roy, et pour renfoncer un tonneau à mettre pluſieurs choſes de la chambre et le paveillon,[45] le XXIII^e jour de janvier, VIII^d.

Debtes. François Bandin, pour deniers a li deuz entre les debtes Jehan Eſquevin, baillées par le commandement Jehan de Danville maiſtre d'oſtel pour paier, le XXIII^e jour de janvier, XXI^l VI^s VIII^d.

Debtes. Le dit François, pour Gaucher de Vannes qui avoit emprumpté de li XIIII nobles ſur certainne vaiſſelle d'argent qui eſt au Roy, laquelle il avoit baillé en gaiges à Thènes de la Bronne; pour ce, IIII^l XIII^s IIII^d, ce jour.

[45] Sorte de dais, faiſant partie de ce que l'on appelait alors une chambre, c'eſt-à-dire le mobilier d'une chambre.

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Thènes de la Bronne, pour Gaucher de Vannes qui avoit emprumpté de li ſur la dicte vaiſſelle IX nobles, paié pour ce, ce jour, LX[s]. Debtes.

Monet, barbier Meſſ[e] Philippe, pour II orfrois,[46] pour II chaperons[47] du dit Meſſ[e] Philippe, le XXV[e] jour de janvier, V nobles : XXXIII[s] IIII[d]. Robes.

Marguerite la reliereſſe, pour relier un livre où la bible en françois eſtoit contenue, qui eſtoit de la dame de Garenne, et pour le couvrir tout de neuf et mettre IIII fermoers neux, le XXV[e] jour de janvier, du commandement du Roy: XXXII[d]. Hernois.

Pour eſtopes pour le Roy, achetés par maiſtre Gerart et pour portage, III[s] VI[d]. Pour ormaux pour le Roy, achetez par le dit maiſtre Gerart, VI[d], et pour rappareiller une male, VIII[d]; Pour tout, le XXVI[e] jour de janvier, IIII[s] VIII[d]. Hernois.

Michiel Gerart, eſpicier à Londres : Eſpices de Chambre.

Pour III boiſtes de pignolas, peſanz XXXV livres, XVI[d] livre, valent XLVI[s] VIII[d];

Pour III boiſtes de paſte roial, XXII livres, à ce pris, valent XXIX[s] IIII[d];

Pour XII livres groſſe dragée, XVI[s];

Pour XII livres de gigembre confit, XVI[s];

Pour XIII livres de ſucre de plate, XVI[d] livre, valent XVII[s] IIII[d];

Pour IIII livres de poudre à claré, VIII[s];

Pour XII livres de ſucre caſſons, XVIII[s];

[46] Galons ou franges.

[47] Sorte de petit collet à capuchon.

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Somme, VII[l] XI[s] IIII[d].

Robes. Geuffroy Touze, pour miſes faites par li à parfaire une des cotes Meſſ[s] Philippe : Pour ſoye noire, IIII[d] ; Pour noir fil, II[d] ; Pour une livre de chandelle de ſieu,[48] II[d] ; Pour IIII journées d'un ouvrier a parfaire la dicte cote, VI[d] par jour, valent II[s] ; Pour tout, le XXVII[e] jour de janvier, II[s] VIII[d].

Hernois. Le dit Geuffroy, pour cheneviz pour les oiſeaux Monſ[r] Philippe, IIII[d].

Achat. Monſ[r] Philippe, pour I tercelet[49] acheté pour li de Bandin le fauconnier, et paié par commandement du Roy et de J. de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel, le XXVII[e] jour, XX eſcuz Philippe, valent : LXVI[s] VIII[d].

Robes. Adam de Béry, pour IX[xx] III dos que gris que menu vair,[50] pour la coſte hardie Monſ[r] Philippe, et pour les garnemens[51] du Roy, et pour l'aumuce[52] maiſtre Jehan, III[d] pour pièce, valent XLV[s] IX[d].[53]

Robes. Blaiſe de Béry, pour les mettre en euvre par IIII journées, XXVIII[d].

Hernois. Jehanne la cuſturière, pour la facon de une

[48] Chandelles de ſuif.

[49] Tiercelet, ſorte de faucon.

[50] Le petit gris et le menu vair ſont deux fourrures, faites, l'une avec le dos, l'autre avec le ventre de l'écureuil des pays froids.

[51] Habillements.

[52] Vêtement ſervant à couvrir la tête et les épaules.

[53] En note : " payé à li par la main maiſtre Yves de l'argent des meſſagers " (du Languedoc).

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envelope et II coifes pour le Roy, paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel le XXIX^e^ jour, XII^d^.

Guillaume Cannelle, cordoannier, pour une douzainne de paire de ſolers et une paire d'eſtuiaux pour Meſſ^e^ Philippe; la douzaine de paire, VII^s^, et les eſtuiaux, V^s^; Pour tout, XII^s^; le darrain jour de janvier.[54] Hernois.

Guillemin Chaufecire, pour don fait a lui par le Roy pour quérir ſes néceſſitez, le darrain jour de janvier, V nobles, valent XXXIII^s^ IIII^d^. Dons.

Monſ^r^ Philippe, pour faire ſa volenté, le darrein jour de janvier, I noble et demi, valent X^s^. Deniers baillez.

Le Breton, meſſagier du Cardinal de Rouen, que Monſ^r^ d'Anjou[55] envoya de Tournay à Londres apporter lettres au Roy, pour don fait au dit Breton par le Roy, le darrain jour de janvier, XX^s^. Dons.

Maiſtre Gérart d'Orliens, pour V paonnez[56] et I fol, tant d'ivyre comme de coir, pour le jeu des eſchés du Roy, du tablier qui fu maiſtre J. de Savoie, fait du commandement du Roy, XVIII^d^. Hernois.

Hannequin l'orfèvre, demourant à Londres: pour appareiller le drageoir où l'on ſert chaſcun jour d'eſpices, pour argent et pour façon, III^s^; Item, pour or à faire un annel où eſt aſſis un bon rubi que le Roy a acheté à Londres, XIX^s^; Hernois.

[54] En note: "paié a J. Doillet ſon varlet."
[55] Un des fils du Roi.
[56] Pions pour les échecs.

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Item, pour la façon du dit annel, xxvi^{s} viii^{d}; Item, pour or et façon du pendant du petit ſignet du Roy, ii^{s} vi^{d}; Item, pour or à mettre i rubi balay en i fermail, v^{s}; Item, pour la façon du dit fermail, xxvi^{s} viii^{d}; Item, pour or à faire un annel où le Roy a fait mettre i petit dyament, v^{s} vi^{d}; Pour la façon, xiii^{s} iiii^{d}; Item, pour la foille du dit ruby balay, v^{s}; Item, pour l'or d'un fermail à i griffon ou milieu, iiii^{s} vi^{d};[87] Item, pour la façon du dit fermail, xxx^{s}; Item, pour une clef à une ſerreure que maiſtre Girart li a fait faire pour le Roy, ii^{s} vi^{d}; Somme de ces parties, vii^{l} vii^{s} viii^{d}, dont l'on rabat vii^{s} iiii^{d}; Item, l'on li doit pour Monſ^{r} Philippe viii eſcuz, valent xxvi^{s} viii^{d}. Ainſin li ſont deuz viii^{l} vii^{s}; dont il a quitté xxvi^{s} viii^{d}; demore vii^{l} iiii^{d}, paiez du commandement du Roy le darrain jour de janvier; pour ce, vii^{l} iiii^{d}.

Offerandes. Le curé de Saint Climent de Londres, pour les offerandes du Roy, pour le mois de janvier, qui fait xxxi jour, ii^{d} par jour, dont ſont à rabatre le jour Tiphainne; pour ce, v^{s}.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, pour xii livres de ſucre caſſons, xviii^{d} livre, valent xviii^{s}.

Somme ix^{xx} xiii^{l} viii^{s} iiii^{d}.

Février cccLviii, et commença au venredy, et a xxviii jours.

[87] A la ſuite de ces mots, mais en marge, on lit: " Pour la foille du dit fermail miſe ou ruby qui eſt ou dit fermail, iiii^{s}."

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Samedy IIe jour.

Au Roy, pour offerande, le jour de la Chandelleur, XIII gros, valent IIIIs IIIId. Offerande.

Dymenche.

Lundy.

Mardy, Ve jour.

Goupillet, pour don fait à li par le Roy, pour quérir ſes néceſſitez, IIII nobles, valent XXVIs VIIId. Dons.

Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour VIII livres de caſſons par M. Girart, XVIIId livre, valent XIIs. Chambre.

Li, pour demie livre de cire vermeille, IIIId. Hernois.

Venredy, VIIIe jour.

Hannequin l'orfèvre, pour une haquenée et une bride achetée de lui pour l'oſtel, XXVIIIs. Hernois.

Pour I cheval d'un des archers de la garde du Roy, qu'il avoit loé, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, pour venir de Vindezores, et fu mors le cheval, dont l'on compoſa à li à Xs. Hernois.

Pour nettoier l'oſtel de Savoie par un varlet du duc de Lankaſtre, environ la Touſſaint, et n'a mie eſté compté par Leſquevin, VIs. Hernois.

Robin Tancon, pour pluſieurs choſes a li deues du temps paſſé, et compté à li par le maiſtre d'oſtel, IIIIs. Hernois.

Jehan Redin, de Londres, qui avoit loé XL haquenées pour les gens du Roy, quant il ſe dut partir de Londres pour aller à Sommertonne; et n'y ala pas le Roy, et pour ce fu compoſé au dit Redin par le maiſtre d'oſtel à XIIIs Hernois.

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IIII^{d}, paié du commandement du dit maiſtre, XIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Hernois. Lalement, varlet Madame de Garenne, pour envoier quérir le conte de Jooigny à Evruye,[58] où il eſtoit preſtament pour venir deviers le Roy, VI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Id. Thènes de la Bronne, pour I batelier auquel l'on avoit fait marchié de mener par yeaue de Londres à Sommertonne les vins et autres garniſons et hernois du Roy, et n'y furent mis menées, quar le Roy n'y ala mie, et, pour ce, demora le dit batelier bien à Londres par XVI jours, en attendant tousjours de partir et mener les diz vins et garniſons, et en devoit avoir XXX eſcuz. Pour ce, par compoſition faicte à li par le maiſtre d'oſtel, XLVI^{s} VIII^{d}.[59]

Le Samedy IX^{e} jour.

Hernois. Pierre le batelier, pour paſſer par yeaue Meſſ^{e} Philippe et ceux de ſa compaignie qui venoit de rivière à Savoye, VIII^{d}.

Id. Pour deſpens faiz par Monſ^{r} Philippe, li XVIII^{s} à cheval, qui fu en rivière le dit ſamedy, III^{s} VIII^{d}.[60]

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour XI livres de

[58] York.

[59] En regard des ſept articles précédents, on lit à la marge: "Toute ceſte deſpenſe a eſté faicte par J. de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel, et baillié par li."

[60] En note: "payé à M. Gaſſe," le chapelain poète et chaſſeur, chargé d'enſeigner la fauconnerie au jeune Prince. Aller chaſſer au faucon ſe diſait aller en rivière.

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groſſe dragée, XVI[d] pour livre, valent XIIII[s] VIII[d].

Item, XII livres de ſucre caſſon, XVIII[d] livre, valent XVIII[s].

Item, pour cirer toile pour mettre en II chaperons pour le Roy, VI[d]. Hernois.

Jeudy XIIII[e] jour.

Pour encre à eſcrire, en l'oſtel du Roy, IIII[d]. Hernois.

Le Venredy, XV[e] jour.

Jehan Deſtodée,[61] bourgeois et maieur de Londres, auquel le Roy devoit entre les debtes de Maiſtre Yves baillées a paier, pour cauſe de vente de vins, et pour le loier d'aucuns ſeliers et chambres que les genz du Roy ont tenu du ſien, et en deniers preſtez au dit maiſtre Yve pour le Roy, juſques au XX[e] jour de mars CCCLVII; paié au dit maieur du commandement de J. de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel, LII[l] III[s] IIII[d], à Meſſ[e] Geufroy, ſon chapellain.[62] Debte de M. Yves.

Samedy XVI[e] jour.

Le Roy des meneſtereulx pour quérir certainnes choſes néceſſaires pour l'auloge, paié du commandement du Roy, fait à moy, VI[s] VIII[d]. Hernois.

Maiſtre Yves Dairan, pour envoier Gilequin de Gournay de Londres à Bruges, pour admener à Londres les meſſagers de la Langue D'oc Hernois.

[61] Sir John Stody.

[62] En note: "Les dictes LII[l] III[s] IIII[d] furent paiés des florins que Chevalier apporta, c'eſt aſſavoir en II[c] LX moutons, IIII[s] pièce, et I eſcu de Philippe, valent la ſomme deſſus dicte."

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par devers le Roy, baillié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel : x eſcuz, valent xxxiii^{s} iiii^{d}.

Dimanche xvii^{e} jour.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour x livres de ſucre caſſons, xviii^{d} livre, valent xv^{s}.

Mardy xix^{e}.

Don. Le . . . . . varlet du Mareſchal d'Ordenehan, lequel varlet a tondu par pluſieurs foiz les chevaux Meſſ^{e} Philippe, pour don fait à lui par le dit Meſſ^{e} Philippe, et paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, iii^{s} iiii^{d}.

Robes. Geuffroy Touze, pour eſtoffe pour ii paires de manches pour le Roy, c'eſt aſſavoir, pour demie once de ſoie vert et demie once de ſoie noire, xx^{d} ; pour demi quartier de cendal, iiii^{d} ; et pour fil, vi^{d} ; pour tout, ii^{s} vi^{d}.

Hernois. Girardin, varlet maiſtre Jehan le fol, pour ii paire de chauces[63] qu'il a achetées pour le dit maiſtre Jehan, iiii^{s} iiii^{d}.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour vi livres de ſucre en plate, xvi^{d} livre, valent viii^{s}.

Item, pour une once de calciafitre.

Jeudy xxi^{e} jour.

Chapelle. Aliſon, la cuſturière de Londres, pour deſcoudre iii ſurpeliz et les coudre de touz poinz de nouvelle couſture, pour ce que l'autre couſture ne povoit tenir, ii^{s}.

Hernois. Guiot le Flament, bourgois de Troyes, au-

[63] Vêtement partant de la ceinture et deſcendant au deſſous du genou.

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quel Pierre Chevalier, varlet de chambre du Roy, avoit fait marchié de rendre à Bruges environ v^c moutons que le dit Chevalier avoit receuz pour le Roy, à Troyes, du colletteur de l'impoſition de VIII^d pour livre, les quiex deniers le dit chevalier n'oſoit aſporter avecques ſoi pour doubte qu'il ne fuſt pillez; pour ce, paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, XV eſcuz de Philippe, III^s IIII^d pièce, valent L^s.

Thènes de la Brune, pour une pierre jaune achetée de li pour le Roy, dont l'on a fait un ſignet pour li, lequel ſignet eſt d'un creiſſant ſemé d'eſtoiles; paié, du commandement du Roy, VIII eſcuz de Philippe, valent XXVI^s VIII^d. Joyaux.

Venredy XXII^e jour.

Maiſtre Yve Deriam, ſecrétaire du Roy, pour certainne deſpenſe faicte par li, en alant à Bruges de Londres pour admener devers le Roy les meſſagers de la Langue d'Oc, et pour recevoir VI^c LII eſcuz qui eſtoient demourez à Bruges des III^m IIII^c LII eſcuz que l'on a renduz au Roy pour les IIII^m florins de la recepte de Nymes, du terme de la Saint Michiel CCCLVIII, deſquiex VI^c LII eſcuz le Roy avoit fait certains dons à aucuns ſes officiers qui de ſa licence ſ'en alèrent en France; et les leur départi, et paia ledit maiſtre Yves à Bruges les parties de la dicte deſpenſe et dons en I compte particulier qu'il a rendu devant le maiſtre d'oſtel, VI^c IIII ^xxIII eſcuz de Philippe qui valent III^s IIII^d pièce: CXIII^l XVI^s VIII^d d'eſterlins. Hernois.

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Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour XIX livres de ſucre caſſons, XVIII^{d} la livre, valent XXVIII^{s} VI^{d}.

Item, pour demie aune de chenevaz à faire ſas, III^{d}.

Le Dimenche XXIIII^{e} jour.

Dons. Maciet et Thomelin, meneſtereulx du Roy d'Eſcoce, pour don fait a eulx par le Roy, XX nobles, valent VI^{l} XIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Lundy XXV^{e} jour.

Dons. Colinet de Hainaut, fauconnier Meſſ^{e} Jehan de Chandos, qui préſenta au Roy III levriers de par le dit Meſſ^{e} J. de Chandos, pour don fait au dit Colinet, VI nobles, valent XL^{s}.

Mardy XXVI^{e} jour.

Hernois. Aymonnet, barbier Monſ^{r} Philippe, pour deſgaigier un chaperon de broderie et un manteau fourré de menu vair pour Monſ^{r} Philippe, et pour I autre chaperon de broderie pour lequel l'on devoit XXVI eſcuz, et leſquiex Olivier le bardeur avoit engagez; pour ce, paié, pour tout ravoir, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, XIII nobles, valent IIII^{l} VI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Li, pour le ſalaire d'un ſergent de Londres qui ala avec li par pluſieurs foiz pour faire délivrer les choſes deſſus dites, III^{s} IIII^{d}; et pour deſpens faiz avec li, XII^{d}; pour tout IIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour II boiſtes, l'une de pignolet et l'autre de paſte roial, peſant XXII livres, pour livre XVI^{d}; valent XIX^{s} IIII^{d}.

Item, pour demie livre de cire vermeille, IIII^{d}.

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Bandement, ſommelier de la Chapelle, pour faire rappareiller une couroie des coffres de la chapelle et II chemiſes du bréviaire et du meſſel du Roy, IIIᵈ. Chapelle.

Gerveſot, eſcuier Monſʳ Philippe, pour don à li fait par le Roy pour querre ſes néceſſitez ; paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, III nobles, valent XXˢ. Dons.

Jeudy darrain jour.

Pour une douzaine de parchemin achetée de Jaque le relieur de livres, IIIˢ VIᵈ. Hernois.

Michiel Gérart, pour IIII livres de ſucre en plate, XVIᵈ livre, valent Vˢ IIIIᵈ.

Item, II livres de poudre à claré, IIIIˢ. Chambre.

Adam de Béry, pour C. ventres de menu vair pour amender les robes du Roy, IIIᵈ. pour ventre, valent XXVˢ.[64] Robes.

Le curé de Saint Climent de Londres, pour les offerandes du Roy, pour ce mois de février qui fait XXVIII jours, dont il chiet pour le jour de la chandeleur IIᵈ ; demore XXVII jours, IIᵈ pour jour, IIIIˢ VIᵈ. Offerandes.

Maiſtre Girart d'Orliens, paintre et varlet de chambre du Roy, pour pluſieurs otilz achetez du commandement du Roy, pour faire certains tableaux que le Roy le a commandé à faire pour li, paié du commandement du dit Seigneur, pour tout XXXIIIˢ IIIIᵈ. Hernois.

Somme IIᶜ IIIIˡ VIˢ VIIIᵈ.

[64] En note : " paié à li par la main Maiſtre Yves, de l'argent des meſſagers."

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Mars, et commença au venredy et a XXXI jours.

Samedy II[e] jour.

Hernois. Paſt de Béry, pour II tabours achetez de li pour Monſ[r] Philippe pour chacer les oiſeaux de rivière, paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel XII[s].

Hernois. Lalement, varlet la dame de Garainnes, qui fu envoié à Paris par le Roy porter lettres à Monſ[r] le Duc[65] et autres, XII nobles, valent IIII[l].

Dymenche III[e] jour.

Hernois. Girardin, varlet maiſtre J. le fol, pour II paires de ſolers pour le dit maiſtre J., XIIII[d].

Hernois. Le Roy des Meneſtereulx, ſur la façon de l'auloge, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, II nobles, valent XIII[s] IIII[d].

Chambre. Michiel Girart, pour VII livres et demie de ſucre caſſon, XIX[d] la livre, valent XI[s] X[d] obole.

Mardy V[e] jour.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, pour V livres et demie de ſucre en plate, XVI[d] livre, valent VII[s] IIII[d].

Item, II boiſtes de paſte royal peſans IIII livres un quart.[66]

Mercredy VI[e] jour.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, pour VIII livres de groſſe dragée, XVI[d] la livre, valent X[s] VIII[d].

Li, X livres de ſucre en pain, XXI[d] livre, valent XVII[s] VI[d].

[65] De Normandie, Régent de France.
[66] Article barré.

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VII[e] jour.

Michiel Girart, pour II boiſtes de pignolat peſans XI livres et I quarteron, XVI[d] pour livre, XV[s]. Chambre.

Pour XV[l] III quarterons de paſte roial, XVI[d] livre, valent XXI[s].

Guy Barre, pour don à li fait par le Roy pour paier le mire[67] qui avoit gary le dit Guy Barre du bras qu'il avoit eu rompu; paié du commandement du Roy, fait par le Comte de Dampmartin, II nobles, valent XIIII[s] IIII[d]. Dons.

Le lundy XI[e] jour.

Meſſ[e] Arnoul de Grantpont, chapellain du Roy, pour don à li fait, ceſte foiz L nobles, valent XVI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d]. Dons.

Le Mardy XII[e] jour.

Jaque, le relieur de livres, pour relier un des bréviaires de la chapelle, mettre unes ais toutes neuves et couvrir d'une pel vermeille, le broder et blanchir, III[s] VI[d]. Hernois.

Li, pour mettre IIII clés de laton, II grans et II petiz, et les petiz cleus a les eſtachier, et pour les diz cleus, en I roman de Guilon, XX[d]. Hernois.

Meſſ[e] Philippe, pour faire ſa volenté, XVI[d].[68] Hernois.

Le Jeudy XIIII[e] jour.

Hanequin, meſſagier du mareſchal d'Ordeneham, lequel le Roi a envoié à Paris pour certainnes beſoignes, paié du commandement du Roy, fait à la relation de maiſtre Jehan le Roier, XII moutons: XLVIII[s]. Hernois.

[67] Médecin.

[68] En note: "deniers bailliez à G. Touze."

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Robes. Pour demi drap acheté de la livrée du Roy pour Denis de Collors, commandée par le Roy, contenant XV aunes, v^s VI^d pour aune, valent $IIII^l$ II^s VI^d.[69]

Robes. Barbatre et Climent, clercs de Chapelle, pour leur livrée, contenant les II pars d'un drap qui font XX aunes et demie, à moiller et tondre, III^s I^d. pour aune, valent $LXIII^s$ II^d obole, et pour le tondre, XX^d; Pour tout, $LXIIII^s$ X^d obole.

Chapelle. Symon, boucher de Londres, pour XXXIII aunes de toile de Reins pour faire ſurpeliz pour la chapelle, achetez du commandement du Roy, $LVII^s$ IX^d.

Le venredy XV^e jour.

Robes. Guillaume Holebet, drapier de Londres, pour les II pars d'un drap et II aunes pour le Roy, VI^l $VIII^d$; et pour le tondre, III^s $IIII^d$; paié du commandement J. de Danville, pour tout, VI^l $IIII^s$.

Dons. Gillequin de Tournay, pour don fait à lui pour les ſervices qu'il avoit faiz, pour porter de Londres à Bruges aus meſſagés, qui venoient de la Langue d'Oc par devers le Roy pour le viſiter, leur ſauf conduit, et les conduire de Bruges à Londres; paié par le commandement du Maiſtre d'oſtel, XL^s.

Samedy XVI^e jour.

Hernois. Maiſtre Jehan le Royer, pour encre, $IIII^d$.

[69] En note: "payé IX nobles."

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Michiel Gerart, eſpicier, pour XII livres de ſucre caſſon, XIX^{d} livre, valent XIX^{s}. Chambre.

Item, II livres et III quarterons de madirain, XVI^{d} livre, valent III^{s} VIII^{d}.

Item, II livres de ſucre en plate, XVI^{d} livre, valent XI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Michiel Gerart, eſpicier, pour II boiſtes de pignolat, peſant VIII livres et demie, XVI^{d} la livre, valent XI^{s} IIII^{d}. Chambre.

Item, de ſucre en plate XI livres et demie, XVI^{d} livre, valent XV^{s} IIII^{d}.

Michiel Girart, pour I boiſte de paſte roial, peſant IIII livres et demie, XVI^{d} livre, valent VI^{s}.

Item, II livres groſſe dragée, II^{s} VIII^{d}.

Dymenche XVII^{e} jour.

Blaynne, le peletier, dit de Bury, pour IIII pannes blanches pour une robe pour maiſtre J. le fol, X^{s}. Robes.

Pour une panne a chaperon pour li, III^{s}.

Pour fourrer les diz robes et chaperon, II^{s} VI^{d}.

Pour fourrer les II aumuces du dit maiſtre J., VIII^{d}.

Pour VI journées du dit Blayne à fourrer pour le Roy et mettre en ſes garnemens C ventres de menu vair, achetez de Adam de Béry, par VI jours, III^{s}.

Pour fil, III^{d}.

Pour une clef miſes ès aumoires de la chambre du dit maiſtre Jehan, IIII^{d}. Hernois.

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Robes. Pour refreſchir et laver un des chaperons de menu vair du Roy, VIII^{d}.

Mardy XIX^{e} jour.

Hernois. Maiſtre Girart d'Orliens, pour II pannier d'oſier fermant à clef pour mettre certains ymages de fuſt[70] pour le Roy et pour la ſarreure du dit pannier, III^{s}.

Achat. Pierre l'orfèvre, de Londres, pour une paire de couſtiaux à trancher, et un parepain[71] pour le Roy, achetez du dit Pierre et faiz de li, par Jehan de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel, XIIII nobles, valent IIII^{l} XII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Le Mercredy XX^{e} jour.

Dons. Loys de la Panne, eſcuier de Monſ^{r} D'Aubigny, pour don fait à li pour ſoy en aler en Bretaigne, paié du commandement du Roy, XX^{s}.

Hernois. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour IIII mains de papier, II de la grant forme et II de la petite, II^{s} II^{d}.

Li, pour une livre de cire vermeille, VIII^{d}.

Le venredy XXII^{e} jour.

Hernois. Chaufecire, pour cire achetée pour la chancellerie à ſceller, du commandement J. de Danville, IIII^{s}.

Samedy XXIII^{e} jour.

Hernois. Le Roy des meneſtereulx, pour la perfection

[70] Bois.

[71] Dans tous les comptes de l'argenterie, les couteaux ſont achetés par paire et accompagnés d'un parepain. M. Douet d'Arq ſuppoſe que cet inſtrument ſervait à chapeler le pain.

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de l'auloge, baillié du commandement du Roy, VI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Monſ^{r} Philippe, pour une coroie et une taſſe achetée pour lui par Aymonet ſon barbier, VII^{s}. Hernois.

Item, pour I tiſſu de ſoie noire à lier ſes cheveux, XVI^{d}. Hernois.

Marguerite, la cuſturière, pour parer III aubes[72] et III amiz[73] pour la chapelle, VI^{d}. Chapelle.

Dymenche XXIIII^{e} jour.

Baudet de Saint Omer, pour I ſauf conduit du Roy d'Angleterre empêtré pour les meſſagés des groſſes villes de la Sénéchaucée de Carcaſſonne qui eſtoient à Bruges, et vouloient venir à Londres devers le Roy, paié par la relation de Maiſtre Yves, III^{s}. Hernois.

Pour une grant pel de parchemin à eſcrire le traictié du Roy et du Roy d'Angleterre, et pour encre, à M. J. le Royer, XII^{d}. Hernois.

Le Lorrain, clerc Monſ^{r}. le Conte de Sanceurre, lequel preſta à Maiſtre G. Racine, fiſicien du Roy, Taffin du Breuil, tailleur et varlet de chambre du dit ſeigneur, et à Thomaffin Doucet, eſpicier du Roy, qui venoient devers li de France en Angleterre et li apportèrent robes et pluſieurs autres choſes et furent pris en la mer de pilleurs de mer, C eſcuz de Jehan, pour bailler aus dits pilleurs aus quiex ils ſe rançonnèrent de celle ſomme pour eulx et pour leurs gens, ou autrement ils euſſent eſté pillez Hernois.

[72] Partie du vêtement ſacerdotal, en lin.
[73] Autre partie du vêtement ſacerdotal.

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du tout et en aventure d'eſtre mors ; Et paié du commandement J. de Danville, maiſtre d'oſtel, les diz C. eſcuz de Jehan, valent IIII^{xx} eſcuz de Philippe, valent XIII^{l} VI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Lundy XXV^{e} jour.

Hernois. Perrin Boileaue, chevaucheur Monſ^{r} le Duc, pour deſpenſe faite par lui pour faire amener et conduire de Compiégne à Londres par devers le Roy XL lez de venoiſons et V eſchuiers (?) que le dit Monſ^{r} le Duc li envoiait : IIII^{xx} VI eſcuz de Philippe ; les parties contenues en un rôle qu'il a baillié ſur ce, dont il chiet XLVIII eſcuz qu'il dit que Meſſire Nicolas Bracque li bailla pour amener les dictes venoiſons ; demore XXXVIII eſcuz de Philippe, les quiex le Roy a volu eſtre paiez et renduz au dit Boileaue, et par le commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel pour ce, XXXVIII eſcuz, valent VI^{l} VI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Hernois. Li, pour ſon retour à aler en France du commandement J. de Danville, VIII eſcuz, valent XXVI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Dons. Denys de Collors, chapellain et notaire du Roy, pour don à lui fait par le Roy pour quérir ſes néceſſités, XL eſcuz de Philippe, valent VI^{l} XIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Mardy XXVI^{e} jour.

Hernois. Cannulle, pour porter unes lettres du Roy de Londres à Douvres au mareſchal d'Odenehan, baillié du commandement Maiſtre J. le Royer, III nobles, XX^{s}.

Robes. Adam de Bury, pelletier à Londres, pour III pannes de pourpres de livrée faicte à Denys de

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Collors, chapellain du Roy, xxx^{s}; et demie panne de gros vair pour hoſſe, xi^{s}; et i chaperon de menu vair contenant iiii^{xx} ventres, iii^{d} pour ventre; Pour tout, lxi^{s}.

Le dit Adam, pour ii pannes de bogie de la livrée du Roy pour Barbatre et pour Climent, viii^{s}; pour iiii pannes à chaperon, xii^{s}; Pour tout, xx^{s}.[74] Robes.

Dymenche darrain jour de Mars.

Le varlet Jehan Langlois, marchand de chevaux, qui amena à Savoie i cheval que Monſ^{r} Philippe avoit acheté; pour don fait à li par le dit Monſ^{r} Philippe, du commandement J. de Danville, iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Don.

Le curé de Saint Climent de Londres pour les offerandes du Roy, de ce préſent mois, qui fait xxxi jours, ii^{d} par jour, valent v^{s} ii^{d}. Offerandes.

Godefroy d'Allemaigne, ſellier à Londres, pour une ſelle dorée de palefroy et pour ii frains par eulx dorés pour le Roy et pour un autre frain et ii ſengles faiz par le dit Godefroy; Paiés du commandement J. de Danville xxv eſcuz, valent iiii^{l} iii^{s} iiii^{d}.[75] Achat.

Michiel Girart, eſpicier à Londres, pour xix^{l} de ſucre en pain, xxi^{d} livre, valant xxxiii^{s} iii^{d}. Chambre.

Li, iiii^{l} de miel blanc, viii^{d}.

Li, pour i quarteron d'annis mondé, v^{d}.

Li, pour ii^{l} de canelle, livre xiiii^{d}, valent ii^{s} iiii^{d}.

[74] Note en regard de ces deux articles, " En debte."

[75] En note, " Et li doy i eſcu."

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Li, pour III[l] de gigembre baladit, III[s].
Li, demi quarteron de poivre lonc, III[d].
Li, une livre de garingal, III[s] IIII[d].
Li, une livre de girofle, III[s] IIII[d].
Li, demie livre de macis, XVIII[d].
Li, une livre de grainne de paradis, XX[d].
Li, pour autres pluſieurs parties contenues cy-devant ou premier foillet devant le journal de la deſpenſe extraordinaire,[76] (ſavoir :)
XV livres de ſucre en pain, XXI[d] pour livre, valent pour tout XXVI[s] III[d] ;
demie livre de Gigembre taillié, X[d] ;
IIII livres d'anis mondé, XX[d] ;
XII livres de pignons, XIIII[d] pour livre, valent XIIII[s] ;
XX livres et demie de ſucre caſſetin en pain, XXI[d] livre, valent XXXV[s] X[d] obole ;
une recepte pour Girardi à guérir des oreilles, XVI[d] ;
XXI livres et demie de miel blanc, III[s] VII[d] ;
III livres de Gigembre ſodo (?), XII[d] livre, valent III[s] ;
IIII[l] de Madrian, XVI[d] livre, valent V[s] IIII[d] ;
XVII livres et demie de ſucre en pain, XXI[d] livre, valent XXX[s] VII[d] obole ;
IX livres de ſucre caſſon, XIX[d] livre, valent XIIII[s] III[d] ;
IIII livres de ſucre caſſon, VI[s] IIII[d] ;

[76] Les parties qui ſuivent ſont effectivement inſcrites avant la deſpenſe extraordinaire, avec un renvoi ſoigneuſement établi.

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II livres d'anis mondé, x^{d};
demie livre de Gigembre taillé, x^{d};
I quarteron de maci, IX^{d};
demi quarteron de girofle, v^{d};
une livre de noiz mouſcades, et un petit papier pour Thomaſſin Doucet, pour eſcrire le fait de ſon office, II^{s} II^{d};
VI livres de ſucre caſſon, IX^{s} VI^{d};
pour buche et charbons et autres choſes néceſſaires à faire les confictures des choſes deſſus dictes par le dit Thomaſſin, XIIII^{d};
Somme (de ces parties) VII^{l} XVIII^{s} IX^{d}.[77]
Somme (des payements à l'épicier Girart) XV^{l} IIII^{d}.
Somme de ce mois, CVI^{l} XVIII^{s} XI^{d}.
Avril qui commença au lundy; et parti le Roy de Londres le jeudy en ſuivant, qui fu IIII^{e} jour d'avril CCCLVIII.[78]
Pierre le Hucher, de Londres, pour I coffre carré de cheſne pour Denys de Collors, à mettre les eſcripz et papiers pour le fait de la deſpenſe du Roy, et pour le aſporter à Savoie, V^{s} VI^{d}. Hernois.

Mercredy IIII^{e} jour.

Le Roy des Meneſtereulx, pour don fait à lui par le Roy; paié du commandement J. de Danville, X nobles, valent LXVI^{s} VIII^{d}. Dons.
Michel Girart, eſpicier: pour IIII mains de Hernois.

[77] En marge de ces parties, on lit: "Eſpices de Chambre par Thomaſſin Doucet," épicier et confiſeur de la Chambre du Roi.
[78] Toujours vieux ſtyle. Liſez, 1359.

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papier de la grant forme, IIIs, et une de la petite, IIIId, et une livre de cire, VIIId; pour tout, IIIIs.

Et pour I papier pour faire le journal, IIs.

Dons. Colart Hébert, pour don fait à lui pour ſes néceſſitez, II nobles, valent XIIIs IIIId.

Offerande. Le curé de Saint Climent de Londres, pour les offerandes du Roy, des IIII premiers jours d'avril, VIIId.

Hernois. Barthélemieu le changeur, pour change de XII nobles à menue monnoie, XId.

Jeudy IIIIe jour.

Dons. Les charretiers Madame de Garainnes qui avaient admené en II charioz de la dicte dame partie du hernois du Roy de Londres à Erteford,[79] pour don fait à eulx et pour leur deſpens à retourner arrière à Londres, par J. de Danville: III nobles, valent XXs.

Hernois. Maiſtre Girart d'Orliens, pour certains hotilx à faire ſon meſtier en certains tableaux que le Roy fait faire, paié du commandement du Roy, IIs IIIId.

Dons. Meſſe Jehan Rouſſel, Chapellain, VIII nobles;

Caletot, III nobles;

Barbatre, III nobles;

Climent, III nobles;

Baudement, III nobles;

Pour don fait à eulx par le Roy pour quérir leurs néceſſitez, du commandement J. de Danville, XX nobles, valent VIl XIIIs IIIId.

[79] Hertford.

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Le fauconnier du Roy d'Angleterre qui apporta au Roy le faucon Meſſ^e Gace, qu'il avoit adirié,[80] pour don fait à li par le Roy, III nobles, valent XX^s. Dons.

Meſſ^e Arnoul, pour l'offerande du Roy envoiée à Boulogne par le meſſager de ce lieu, IIII^s. Offerande.

Pierre Chevalier, varlet de chambre du Roy, qui ala en France du commandement du Roy, paié par commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, II nobles, valent XIII^s IIII^d. Hernois.

Pour la façon de la coſte hardie et de la houſſe[81] deſchequeté, que le duc de Lanclaſtre donna a M. J. le fol, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel J. de Danville, V^s VIII^d. Hernois.

Le varlet Jehan Pichié qui admena au Roy un cheval corſier morel que l'on avoit acheté du dit Jehan pour le Roy; pour don fait au dit varlet par le maiſtre d'oſtel, I eſcu, vault III^s IIII^d. Dons.

Le dymenche VII^e jour, à Ertheford.

Monſ^r Philippe de France, pour II aunes d'eſcarlate vermeille,[82] pour faire une cote, chauces et chaperon pour li, acheté par Huitaſſe du Brueil, XXX^s. Robes.

Item, pour V quartiers de drap noir à faire

[80] Perdu.

[81] Sorte de robe longue et ample; celle-çi deſtinée au fol, était ſans doute de couleurs choquantes et peu harmonieuſes; de là le mot deſchequeté?

[82] Le drap écarlate était le plus cher et le plus eſtimé au moyen age. Il y en avait de pluſieurs nuances.

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chauces pour li, VIII^{s} VI^{d}; Item, pour V quartiers de rouſſet[83] pour faire chauces, VIII^{s} VI^{d}; Item, une aune de blanc[84] à faire une cote, VII^{s}; pour tout, LIIII^{s}.

Robes. Le Roy, pour XVIII aunes de drap de III coleurs à faire une hoppelande double et une autre ſaingle qui ſera fourrée de menu vair, V^{s} l'aune, acheté de J. de Hantonne par Huitaſſe, valent IIII^{l} X^{s}.

Robes. Symon Boiſſel, pour un cendal et II aunes, acheté de li pour fourrer un ſeurcot[85] et I chaperon pour le Roy, acheté de li par le dit Huitaſſe, XL^{s}. Li, pour I cendal vert, acheté de li pour I pélicon[86] pour le Roy, et pour taillerie, XXV^{s}. Li, pour I quarteron de ſoie, pour taillerie, VI^{s}.

Hernois. Huitaſſe du Bruil, pour argent paié par li à un charpentier qui avoit fait pertuis ou planchié de l'oratoire par où les plomées[87] de l'auloge chéent, et pluſieurs autres choſes de ſon meſtier, du commandement du Roy, IIII^{s}.[88]

Chapelle. Climent, clerc de Chapelle, pour II varlet qui apportèrent les orgues du Roy de Londres à Erthford, IIII^{s}.

[83] Sorte de drap commun, nuance de cuir tanné.
[84] Drap blanc.
[85] Sorte de robe longue.
[86] Sorte de peliſſe.
[87] Plombs de l'horloge.
[88] Note ſ'appliquant aux 5 articles précédents: "Tout paié à Huitaſſe du Breuil." Du Breuil, indifféremment appelé Huitaſſe, Euſtache, ou Taſſin, tailleur du Roi.

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Lundy xv^e jour.

Hannequin l'orfèvre, pour l'argent de VIII bouclètes[89] et VIII mordans[90] pour les ſolers du Roy, VIII^s. Hernois.

Pour la façon des dictes bouclètes, V^s.

Li, pour l'argent de II paires de charnières pour tabliaux que Maiſtre Girart fait pour le Roy, XII^s. Hernois.

Pour la façon des dictes charnières, VIII^s.

Michiel Girart, eſpicier à Londres, pour V livres et demie de conſerve de Madriain, XVIII^d livre, valent VIII^s III^d. Chambre.

Li, pour VI livres et demie de ſucre caſſetin, XXI^d pour livre, valent XI^s IIII^d obole.

Mardy XVI^e jour.

Meſſ^e Arnoul, Chapellain du Roy, et faiſant le fait de l'aumoſne en abſence de l'aumoſnier, pour deniers renduz à l'aumoſne, les quiex le Roy avoit emprumpté et fait pranre ſur ycelle pour baillier et mettre en autre uſage en la dicte aumoſne ; paié du commandement du Roy, XII nobles, valent IIII^l. Aumoſne.

Le Roy, pour offerande faicte par li en la maiſon du frère de la trinité lez Erthford, le dit mardy, où il oy meſſe, V nobles, valent XXXIII^s IIII^d. Offerande.

Mathelin, pour une lampe de voirre, I lampier de fil d'archal et VIII toiſes de corde pour mettre en la chapelle de Erthford, du commandement du Roy, XII^d. Chapelle.

[89] Petites boucles. [90] Ardillons de boucles.

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Hernois. Hannequin, fauconnier Monſr de Jooigny, pour I bacin à baigner les faucons, par le commandement J. de Danville, VIIIs.[91]

Mercredy XVIIe jour.

Dons. Jehan, le boteiller madame de Garainnes, qui conduit I tonnel de vin blanc que la dicte dame donnait et préſentait au Roy ; pour don fait au dit J. par le commandement J. de Danville, II nobles ; XIIIs IIIId.

Venredy benoit, XIXe jour.

Offerande. Le Roy, pour offerandes a aorer la croix, III demiz nobles : Xs.[92]

Offerande. Meſſe Philippe, pour ſamblable, IIIIs.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier à Londres, XLV livres ſucre caſſon, XIXd pour livre, valent LXXIs IIId.

Item, VI livres ſucre caſſetin, XXId livre, valent Xs VId.

Item, V quarterons de gigembre taillié, XXd la livre, valent IIs Id.

Item, I quarteron de macis, IXd.

Item, III livres d'anis vert, XVd.

Item, XIIII livres de pignons, XIId livre, valent XIIIIs.

Item, demie livre de Girofle, XXd.

Item, VII livres de miel, XIIIId.

Item, XVI livres de ſucre caſſon, XIXd livre, valent XXVs IIIId.

Item, pour II boiſtes wides, XVId.

[91] En note : " Royé ; quar l'on me l'a rendu en l'eſcroé du VIIe jour d'avril en fourrière."

[92] En note : " Paié à Meſſire de Sancerre."

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Pour I varlet qui porta ces choſes de l'oſtel du dit eſpicier juſques à Savoie, IIII^{d}.[93]

Le dit Michiel, pour V livres et demie de madriain, XVI^{d} livre, valent VII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Item, VI livres et demie de ſucre en pain, XXI^{d} livre, valent X^{s} IIII^{d} obole.[94]

Pour I meſſagés à aller querre les dictes eſpices à Londres, par le commandement J. de Danville, XIII^{d}.

Pour buche et charbon à faire les confitures des dictes eſpices, XVIII^{d}.

Michiel Girart, pour la façon de VI ſurpeliz faiz pour Paſques CCCLIX, qu'il a faiz faire, et paié par li, XII^{s}. Chapelle.

Samedy XX^{e} jour, veille de paſques.

Les gens des offices de l'oſtel du Roy et autres eſtans aveſques li à Herthford, à Paſques mil CCCLIX; pour don fait à chaſcun d'eulx pour quérir leurs néceſſitez; paiés du commandement du Roy et par le maître d'oſtel : Dons.

Panneterie :	Fruiterie :
Le Breton des nappes, VIII eſcuz ;	Guillemin Crogy, X eſcuz ;
L'Obloier, VI eſcuz ;	Le barbier qui li ayde, VI eſcuz.
Mahiet Dandeli, V eſcuz ;	

[93] En note : " par Thomaſſin," dit Doucet, le confiſeur.

[94] En note ſur ces deux articles, " royé, quar l'on le compte ci-devant."

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Sandre, fourrier de l'oſtel, VIII eſcuz ;
Maciot le lavandier, VI eſcuz.

Eſchançonnerie :
Jehan Leclerc, XII eſcuz ;
Le Bourgeois, VIII eſcuz ;
Proche, VIII eſcuz ;
Jehan Witaſſe, VIII eſcuz.

Cuiſine :
Poiſſy, X eſcuz ;
Raoul le golu, X eſcuz ;
Robert le Sauffier, VIII eſcuz ;
Caſſart, VIII eſcuz ;
Petit Guillemot, VI eſcuz ;
Guillot le breton, IIII eſcuz ;
Robin Tancon, III eſcuz ;

Eſcuirie :
Gile le Mareſchal, X eſcuz ;
Roger, VIII eſcuz ;
Beraut, VI eſcuz ;
Cotelle, VI eſcuz ;
Quentin, VI eſcuz ;
Jehannin qui eſt aus ſommiers, IIII eſcuz ;
Le page des palefroiz, II eſcuz.

Fourrière :
Cannulle, X eſcuz ;
Bertaut, VIII eſcuz ;
Guibarre, IIII eſcuz ;
Serdeliane, VI eſcuz ;
Le cohu, V eſcuz.

Somme : II^{c}X eſcuz, III^{s} IIII^{d} pièce, valent XXXV^{l}.

Dons. Les Gens Monſ^{r} Philippe :
Aymonnet le barbier, X eſcuz ;
Robinet de la garde robe, VI eſcuz ;
Geufroy, V eſcuz ;

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Le page, IIII eſcuz ;
Le page des chiens, II eſcuz ;
J. de Milan, ſon fauconnier, X eſcuz ;
Jerveſot, VIII eſcuz ;
Somme : XLV eſcuz (III^{s} IIII^{d} pièce) valent VII^{l} X^{s}.

Gopillet, X eſcuz ; Dons.
Chaufecire, VIII eſcuz ;
Mathelin, IIII eſcuz ;
Denyſot, clerc maiſtre Yves, VIII eſcuz ;
Guillemin Dorge, X eſcuz ;
Somme : XL eſcus (III^{s} IIII^{d} pièce) valent VI^{l} XIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Dymenche XXI^{e} jour d'avril et jour de Paſques CCCLIX.

Meſſ^{e} Arnoul de Grantpont, pour aumoſne ſecrète pour le Roy, faicte de ſon commandement à la relation du dit Meſſ^{e} Arnoul, IIII^{s} IIII^{d}. Aumoſne.

Mardy XXIII^{e} jour d'avril CCCLIX.

Guy Bonneamours, meneſtrel de jeu d'apertiſe, qui joua devant le Roy, pour don fait à lui et paié du commandement du Roy, VI nobles : XL^{s}. Don.

Jehan Lefévre de Londres, pour faire une platainne de fer et rappareiller le compas à roigner le pain à chanter, IIII^{d}. Chapelle.

Le Roy, pour offerande faicte à l'ermitaige où il oy meſſe, VI^{d}. Offerande.

Jeudy XXV^{e}.

Maiſtre Guillaume Racine, fiſicien du Roy, pour demi drap de grant moiſon pour une robe Robes.

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que le Roy li a donnée de la livrée aus chapellains, paié du commandement du Roy, IIII[l].

Robes. Adam de Bury, bourgois de Londres, pour III pannes et demie de gros vair pour le dit Maiſtre Guillaume, LXX[s]; et pour II chaperons de menu vair, contenant IIII[xx] ventres, III[d] pour ventre, valent XX[s]; pour tout, IIII[l] X[s].[95]

Debtes. Huitaſſe du Bruil, tailleur du Roy, pour deniers à li deuz de reſte de greigneur ſomme pour certainnes miſes faictes par li à cauſe de la taillerie du Roy, de environ paſques CCCLVIII, ſi comme il appert par I rôle ſcellé de ſon ſcel; Paié par le commandement du Roy, CI[s] VI[d].

Debtes. Adam de Bury, bourgois de Londres, pour deniers à li deuz du temps que maiſtre Yves Derian ſ'eſt entremis de la deſpenſe de l'oſtel du Roy, pour pluſieurs choſes priſes de lui pour le Roy et pour ſes gens; par commandement du Roy, à la relacion de J. de Danville et maiſtre Yves, II[c] LI[l] IIII[s] XI[d] eſterlins.[96]

Debtes. Le dit Adam, pour don à lui paiez par le Roy en récompenſe et pour conſidération d'aucuns domages qu'il diſoit avoir euz en ce que le maiſtre des pors ſur qui il avoit eſté aſſignez de la ſomme deſſus dicte, à paier dedans un certain terme à Bourdeaux, ne li en paia riens, et d'aucunes grans courtoiſie qu'il avait fait au Roy

[95] Note: "en debte."

[96] En note: "debtes de M. Yves, et paié par ſa main de l'argent des meſſagers de la Langue d'Oc."

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ou temps passé; Payé du commandement du Roy fait par relacion de J. de Danville et du dit maistre Yves, II[c] nobles, valent LXVI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d].[97]

Henry Picart, bourgois de Londres, pour certains joyaux que le Roy avait euz pieça de Guillaume de Venise, pour le pris de III[c] XXXIII[l] VI[s] VIII[d] esterlins, et pour autres joyaux que le Roy acheta du dit Henry environ la Saint Jehan CCCLVIII; paié du commandement du Roy, à la relacion J. de Danville et maistre Yves Darian, VII[c] IIII[xx] XIII[l] VI[s] VIII[d] esterlins.[98] Debtes.

Le dit Henry, pour recompensation d'aucuns domages qu'il disoit avoir euz, parceque le dit maistre des pors qui empriſt à li paier la dicte somme à Avignon, et en fiance de ce fist I change au dit lieu, et ne li en paia riens; pour ce, par commandement du Roy à la relacion de J. de Danville et maistre Yves, X[l] IIII[d].[99] Debtes.

Maistre Yves Derian, secrétaire du Roy, pour demi drap de grant moison que le Roy li donna pour sa robe, de la livrée aus secrétaires, IIII[l] II[s] VI[d].[1] Robes.

Li, pour III forreures et demie entières de vair, et II forreures à chaperon de menuvair, contenant IIII[xx] ventres, pour tout IIII[l] XVIII[s]. Robes.

Guillaume Limesy, de Vare, qui avoit vendu Hernois.

[97] En note: "par la main M. Yves de l'argent desdiz Messagers."

[98] Même note. [99] Même note.

[1] En note: "paié à li de l'argent des messagers."

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I petit batel aus gens du Roy, et fait venir à Erteford pour li, pour aler eſbatre en la rivière, le quel batel ne plot pas au Roy, quar il eſtoit trop petiz, et pour ce commanda paier au dit Guillaume pour ſes painnes et travaux, v^{s}.

Samedy XXVII^{e}.

Chapelle. Franchequin d'Odenarde, pour I fer à faire pain à chanter, qui ne furent mie gravez lors,[2] fais du commandement du Roy, XXVI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Hernois. Maiſtre Nicolle, le cireurgien, pour ſa painne et ſalaire de guèrir Barbatre, clerc de la chapelle du Roy, d'une boſſe et autre maladie qu'il avait; paié du commandement J. de Danville, I noble: VI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Hernois. Thomaſſin Doucet, pour I ſirop magiſtral pour le dit Barbatre, II^{s} VI^{d}; Pour I once de ſéné, IIII^{d}; Pour calciaſiſtre et de ſucre edulcé, XII^{d}; Et pour I oignement magiſtral, II^{s} VI^{d}; Pour tout, paié du commandement J. de Danville, VI^{s} IIII^{d}.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour XXV livres de ſucre caſſon, XIX^{d} livre, valent XXXIX^{s} VII^{d}.

Li, VIII livres de ſucre en pain, XXI^{d} livre, valent XIIII^{s}.

Li, pour IIII livres de conſerve de Chitron, XII^{s}.

Li, pour II livres d'annis vert, X^{d}.

Li, pour I livre de Gigembre mondé, XX^{d}.

Li, pour demie livre de macis, XVIII^{d}.

[2] En note: "Il doit rendre les diz fers qui ſont encores à graver."

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Le Cohu, pour ſes deſpens à aler à Londres querre les dictes eſpices, x^d^. Chambre.

Jehan Pichié, marchand de chevaux, pour I corſier[3] morel acheté de lui pour le Roy, le IIII^e^ jour d'avril, II^c^ XVI eſcuz, III^s^ IIII^d^ pièce, valent XXXVI^l^. Achat.

Pour I annel d'or et I rubis dedans acheté par le Roy et paié par ſon commandement et par J. de Danville, XXX^l^.[4] Joyaux.

Baudement, clerc de la chapelle, pour demi C. de crochez pour la chapelle, VI^d^; Pour I martel, VIII^d^; Pour parer V aubes, X^d^; Pour I varlet qui apporta de Londres un autel benoiſt que l'on avait leſſié à Savoie, VIII^d^; pour tout, II^s^ VIII^d^. Chapelle.

Mardy darrein jour.

Le Roy, pour offerande faicte par li à la meſſe nouvelle que le Chapellain, maiſtre Guillaume Racine, chanta lors devant le Roy, X nobles, valent LXVI^s^ VIII^d^.[5] Offerande.

Monſ^r^ Philippe, pour ſamblable, V nobles, valent XXXIII^s^ IIII^d^.

Le curé de Touſſainz de Herthford, pour les offerandes du Roy, du venredy V^e^ jour d'avril, que le Roy vint de Londres à Hertford, juſques au premier jour de may, qui font XXVI jours, II^d^ par jour, dont il chiet pour V jours que le Offerande.

[3] Il y avait d'abord "Roncin."

[4] En note: "Ces II parties furent paiées de III^m^ eſcuz receus de Henry Picart."

[5] En note: "paié au Comte de Sancerre."

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dit curé et l'ermite a eu l'offerande, ainſin XXI jours, pour ce, III^{s} VI^{d}.

Dons. Colart Haubert Ducerre, pour don fait à li par le Roy pour quérir ſes néceſſitez, paié du commandement J. de Danville, V nobles, valent XXXIII^{s} IIII^{d}.

Hernois. Jacques Lepelletier, pour rappareiller les pannes noires de II manteaux de Maiſtre J. le fol, et y mettre II peaux neuves, XII^{d}.

May CCCLIX,

et commença au Mercredy, et a XXXI jours.

Samedy IIII^{e} jours.

Hernois. Pour XII boujeons[6] achetez à Londres pour Meſſire Philippe, XII^{d}.

Robes. Pierre le tondeur, pour tondre environ VI aunes de drap à faire chauces pour le Roy, XII^{d}.

Hernois. Guillaume Canelle, cordoannier, pour II dozaines de paires de ſolers et II paires d'eſtiviaux pour Monſ^{r} Philippe, paiés du commandement J. de Danville, XXIIII^{s}.

Robes. Jehan de Blacon, brodeur, pour refaire et mettre à point III chaperons de broderie pour Meſſire Philippe, et mettre en l'un pluſieurs perles qui y faillaient, paié du commandement J. de Danville, XXVI^{s} VIII^{d}.

Dons. Lallement, chevaucheur, pour don fait à li par Monſ^{r} Philippe, pource qu'il avait tondu les chevaux du dit Meſſire Philippe, III^{s} IIII^{d}.

[6] Groſſes flèches, traits d'arbaléte.

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Jeudy IX^e^ jour.

Meffire Jehan Rouffel, chapellain, pour don fait à li pour querre ſes néceſſitez et meſmement pour ſoyfaire guérir à Londres, où il eſtoit alez; du commandement J. de Danville, XXXIII^s^ IIII^d^. Dons.

Le curé des patenoſtres de la riole[7] de Londres pour offerandes ou rentes qu'il prant par an ſur l'oſtel où les garniſons du Roy ſont, à Londres; pour ce, de la Saint Michiel juſques à Paſques, paié du commandement de J. de Danville, II^s^ IIII^d^. Offerande.

Le curé de Lorberie, pour ſamblable de la maiſon où les vins du Roy ſont à Londres, paié par le commandement du dit J. de Danville, et pour le dit temps, II^s^ IIII^d^. Offerande.

Lundy XIII^e^ jour.

Thome le pelletier, pour déforer une cote hardie de Meffire Philippe, la deſcoudre, la relaver et refourer et remettre en cuir, pour ce qu'elle avait eſté moillée, paié du commandement J. de Danville, III^s^. Robes.

Mardy XIV^e^ jour.

Thome le mercier, pour XIIII couſtiaux achetés de luy du commandement du Roy, donnés et départis à pluſieurs perſonnes de l'oſtel, XVI^s^ VIII^d^. Hernois.

Le Conte d'Aucerre, pour deniers à li baillés par le commandement du Roy, pour faire certainnes beſoignes ſecrettes pour le dit Seigneur Deniers bailles.

[7] Règle.

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à Londres, ſi comme il diſoit et qu'il li avait enchargié, L nobles, valent XVI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d].

Mercredy XV[e] jour.

Hernois. Meſſire Gauthier Haywockh, pour certainnes deſpenſes et pertes faictes par li à cauſe de pluſieurs proviſions et garniſons de blés, vins et autres choſes faictes pour le Roy ou chaſtel de Sommertonne, ou quel le Roy devait aler environ la chandeleur CCCLVIII darrein paſſé, et n'y ala pas; quar il fu autrement ordené, et pour ce furent revendues aucunes des dictes garniſons du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, ſi comme de tout ce pourra apparoir par le compte que ledit meſſire Gautier a rendu ſur ce devant le dit maiſtre, XLIIII[l] VI[s] IX[d].

Dons. Gillequin de Tournay, qui eſt venuz avecques les bourgeois de Narbonne et de Bédiers, et les a conduits de Bruges en Angleterre où ils vinrent viſiter le Roy, pour don à li fait pour avoir une cote hardie, paié du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, I noble: VI[s] VIII[d].

Samedy XVIII[e] jour.

Aumoſne. Meſſire Arnoul l'aumoſnier, pour faire certainne aumoſne que le Roy li avait commandé à faire après ſa maladie, paié du commandement du dit Seigneur XL eſcuz, valent VI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d].

Achat. Le Roy des meneſtereulx, pour I auloges portatif acheté pour le Roy et paié par ſon commandement, V nobles, valent XXXIII[s] IIII[d].

Dons. Jehan de Danville, maiſtre de l'oſtel du Roy, pour don à li fait par le Roy, ceſte fois L nobles, valent XVI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d].

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Berthelemieu le changeur, pour change de VI nobles à menue monnaie pour paier les bonnes gens à qui l'on devait les petites ſommes, VI[d]. Hernois.

Mercredy XXII[e] jour.

Franchequin le graveur, pour la taille faite par li entour I rubi pour le Roy, II nobles; Item, pour faire un annel d'or à une pierre de taille pour le Roy et le tailler entour, II nobles; Item, pour l'or du dit annel, I noble et demi; Item, pour la façon d'un fers à faire pain à chanter acheté haſtivement du commandement du Roy, après ce que les autres fers devant dits furent achetés, et les quiex ont eſté gravés par le dit Franchequin, IIII nobles; Item, pour ſa painne et ſalaire de les graver, ſelon la deviſe qui li fu baillée, VIII nobles; Pour toutes ces choſes, XVII nobles et demi, valent CXVI[s] VIII[d]; par compte fait en la préſence de Monſ[r] de Jooigny et du maiſtre d'oſtel et paié par commandement du Roy, CXVI[s] VIII[d]. Hernois et Chapelle.

Guillaume du Molin, chevaucheur du Roy, qui li avait apporté lettres du Conneſtable[8] en Angleterre; pour don à li fait pour ſon retour en France, baillié du commandement du Roy, à la relaçion de Monſ[r] de Jooigny, III nobles, valent XX[s]. Dons.

[8] Robert, Seigneur de Fiennes, dit Moreau, honoré de la charge de connétable après la mort du Duc d'Athénes (tué à Poitiers en 1356); conſtamment mêlé aux négociations qui eurent lieu pendant la captivité du Roi; ſe démit de ſes fonctions en 1370, en faveur de Bertrand Dugueſclin.

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Dons. Le Coque, qui ſamblablement avait apporté unes lettres au Roy du dit conneſtable; pour don à li fait pour ſon retour en France, baillié du commandement du Roy, à la relacion de Monſr de Jooigny, xxs.

Chambre. Thomaſſin Doucet, eſpicier du Roy, pour pluſieurs miſes faicte par li à cauſe de ſon office, c'eſt aſſavoir: pour eulx à clarifier le ſucre, IIs VIIId; Pour ſamblablement en autre partie, XXIId; Item, pour anegeys pour mettre un emplaſtre et pilems pour le Roy, XId; Item, pour les deſpens de ſon couſin à aler à Londres quérir medecines pour le Roy, par II jours, IIs VIIId; Item, pour les deſpens du Cohu à aler à Londres querre pluſieurs choſes touchant l'eſpicerie, par II foiz, et demora III jours, IIIs; Pour tout, paié du commandement J. de Danville, XIs Id.

Dons. Le dit Thomaſſin, pour don à li fait par le Roy, tant pour les deſpens qu'il avait faits pour venir devers le Roy comme pour ſon retour en France, payé par le commandement du dit Seigneur XL eſcus, valent VIl XIIIs IIIId.

Robes. Jehan de Hantonne, drapier, pour XVII aunes de tanné en grainne[9] pris de li par Huitaſſe pour le Roy, VIIs l'aune, valent CXIXs.

Le dit Jehan, pour environ VI aunes de drap pris de li en diverſes pièces par J. de Danville pour le Roy, XXVs VId.

[9] Drap de couleur fauve, ayant reçu ce qu'on appelle un bain de graine d'écarlate.

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Huitaſſe du Bruil, tailleur, pour certainne deſpenſe faicte par li à cauſe de ſon office de tailleur, ce qui s'enſuit :

Primo, Pour la façon d'un pelicon d'une coſte forrée de menu vair et une hoppelande de gris, du drap de demourant de la taillerie, et une robe de trois garnements forrée de menu vair, un ſeurcot de ce drap forré de cendal vermeil, II chaperons doubles et une paire de chauce du demourant de la taillerie, II paires de chauces priſes par J. de Danville ; furent pluſieurs varlets, qui monte à LXXIX journées, pour chacune journée VIII^{d}, valent LII^{s} VIII^{d} ; dont il chiet pour Perrin Le conte qui y fu par XI jours, qui ne prenait par jour que VI^{d} ; ainſin, pour rabat, XXII^{d} ; demore V^{s} X^{d}.

Pour XXII journées de pelletiers qui furent à fourrer les dictes robes, VIII^{d} par jours, valent XIIII^{s} VIII^{d}.

Pour le loier de II chevaux que Jehan Pigon et ſon varlet chevauchèrent à venir de Londres à Herthfort, pour ouvrer en la dicte beſoigne, IIII^{s}.

Pour le loiers des chevaux aux pelletiers qui ſamblablement vinrent au dit lieu pour la dicte beſoigne, VI ſous.

Pour le louage de leurs lis et pour cervoiſe quils beurent, eulx eſtans au dit lieu et faiſant la dicte beſoigne, XII^{d}.

Pour fil, III^{d}.

Pour les deſpens du dit Huitaſſe, qui ala à

Londres la première ſemaine d'avril pour querre pluſieurs choſes néceſſaires à ſon office, et demoura par III jours, à II chevaux dont il en loa un ; pour tout, VIII^{s}.

Pour les deſpens du dit Huitaſſe, qui ala à Londres la ſemaine après quaſimodo pour avoir drap pour le Roy, et demora II jours à II chevaux, VII^{s}.

Pour ſemblable à aler querre à Londres le drap de tanné deſſus dit, le VIII^{e} jour de May, et demora II jours à II chevaux, VII^{s}.

Pour une livre de fil de pluſieurs coleurs pour les beſoins du Roy et de Monſ^{r} Philippe, IIII^{s}.

Pour une autre livre de gros fil, II ſous.

Pour II aunes de toile pour Meſſire Philippe, II^{s} II^{d}.

Pour cervoiſe que les cuſturiers et ouvriers deſſus dits beurent à Londres par IIII jours qui furent en la beſoigne deſſus dite, II^{s} IIII^{d}.

Chambre. Michiel Girart, eſpicier, pour XXV livres de ſucre caſſon, XIX^{d} pour livre, valent XXXIX^{s} VII^{d}.

Li, XVI livres de ſucre en pain, XXI^{d} livre, valent XXVIII^{s}.

Li, II livres d'Annis vert, X^{d}.

Li, une livre d'anſens franc, XVI^{d}.

Li, II livres de conſerve de roſe, III^{s} IIII^{d}.

Chambre. Le dit Michiel Girart, pour VI livres de conſerve de chitron, XVIII^{s}.

Li, VI livres de ſucre caſſon, XIX^{d} livre, valent IX^{s} VI^{d}.

Li, une livre de gigembre parei, XX^{d}.

Li, une livre d'enſens, XVI^{d}.

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Jeudy XXIII[e] jour.

Jehannin de la Londe fu retenu ce jour varlet de chambre du Roy, ſi comme Monſ[r] de Jooigny a rapporté. Retenue.

Samedy XXV[e] jour.

Caletot, Barbatre, Baudement, Climent } Clers de chapelle, pour don fait a eulx par le Roy pour querir leurs néceſſitez, paié par le commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel à chacun V nobles, pour tout XX nobles; valent VI[l] XIII[s] IIII[d]. Dons.

Gautier Revel, auquel les levriers du Roy, que le Conte de Jooigny avait en garde, avaient eſtranglé une truye, prains, paié et rendu audit Gautier, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel fait ſur ce, X[s]. Hernois.

Mahaut la lavandière, la quelle Beraut avait blecé d'un coſtel; pour ce paié a elle pour amendement de la dicte bleceure, par le commandement J. de Danville, V[s]. Hernois.

Pour encre, IIII[d]. Hernois.

Jeudy XXX[e] jour.

Goupillet, varlet tranchant du Roy, pour don à li fait par le Roy, pour quérir ſes néceſſitez, paié à la relacion du maiſtre d'oſtel, X nobles, valent LXVI[s] VIII[d]. Dons.

Venredy darrein jour de mai.

Aymonet, barbier Monſ[r] Philippe, pour une aune et demie de drap royé a faire une cote hardie pour le dit Meſſire Philippe, XVIII[s], et pour I aune de plain drap, XII[s]; pour tout, XXX[s]. Robes.

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Le dit Aymonet, pour eſtoffes pour la dicte cote hardie et pour une autre cote hardie d'eſcarlate, II aunes de toile, II^{s};

Pour une once et demie de ſoie, II^{s} VI^{d};

Pour demie aune de cendal, II^{s};

Pour la façon des boutons, II^{s};

Pour tout, du commandement J. de Danville, VIII^{s} VI^{d}.

Hernois. Lallement, chevaucheur, qui a eſté envoié de par le Roy en France porter l'eſloignement du jour du retour des meſſagés qui darrein y ont eſté envoiés pour le faict du traictié, pour ſes deſpens oudit voiage, par commandement de J. de Danville : XVI eſcus, valent LIII^{s} IIII^{d}.[10]

Hernois. Pour un ſauf conduit du Roy d'Angleterre pour le dit Meſſire, empêtré par maiſtre Yves, III^{s}.

Hernois. Aymonet, le barbier, pour III paires de gans pour Monſ^{r} Philippe, et pour XXIIII lanières, et pour cheneuvis à ſes oiſeaux; pour tout, XXI^{d}.

Offerandes. Le curé de Touſſainz de Herthford, pour les offerandes cotidiannes du Roy pour le mois de mai, qui fait XXXI jours, II^{d} par jour, valent V^{s} II^{d}.

Hernois. Maiſtre Girart, pour pluſieurs menues choſes néceſſaires et appartenant à ſon meſtier achetées par li, paiées par le commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, IIII^{s}.

Hernois. Michiel Girart, pour XVI aunes de toile à

[10] En note : " L'on les doit à Thennes ; paié à li par M. Macé de l'argent receu de P. Scatiſſe."

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faire robes, linges, pour maiſtre Jehan le fol, XII^{d} l'aune, valent XVI^{s}.

Girardin, varlet maiſtre Jehan le fol, pour faire rappareiller X colets de chemiſes pour le Roy et IIII cuevre-chiés, XX^{d}. Hernois.

Li, pour III paires de chauces pour maiſtre Jehan, V^{s} VI^{d}.

Pour la façon de VI paires de robes, linges et II cuevre-chiés pour le dit maiſtre Jehan, XX^{d}, et pour VI paires de ſolers, III^{s} VI^{d}; Pour tout, paié du commandement J. de Danville, X^{s} VIII^{d}. Hernois.

Jehan Donet, eſpicier à Londres, pour eſpices et autres pluſieurs choſes priſes de li pour le Roy et pour ſes gens par Thomaſſin Doucet, ſon eſpicier et varlet de chambre, le XXVI^{e} jour de mars précédent, dont l'on a encores apporté maintenant les parties qui ſont téles: Chambre.

Primo, pour un électuaire cordial doré pour maiſtre le fol, X^{s} VI^{d}.

Pour une recepte de pareilles et pluſieurs herbes, ſemences et flours pour faire une eſtuve et une emplaſtre pour la teſte du varlet du dit maiſtre Jehan, IIII^{s} VI^{d}.

Pour une boiſte de oile et pour un lavement pour la teſte, pour I dragié, pour ongnement et pilleuſers pour le dit varlet, VI^{s} IIII^{d}.

Pour I lectuaire pour le Roy et pour le mareſchal Dodeneham, et pour IIII livres de pénites à leurs médecines, XVIII^{s}.

Le dit Jehan, le IX^{e} jour de may, par Jehan

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de la lande, eſpicier : Primo, ſené VIII unces, XII^{d} ; Item, tamarinde VIII unces, XVI^{d} ; Item, reubarbe IIII onces, VI^{s} ; Item, violes IIII unces, VIII^{d} ; Item, polipode I^{l} et I quarteron, XIII^{d} ; Item, requeliſſe II unces, I^{d} ; Item, penides d'une demie livre, X^{d} ; Item, candi I unce, II^{d} ; Item, quebub I unce, II^{d} ; Item, des IIII ſemances de froit mande (?), XVI^{d} ; Item, lapdanum I^{l}, II^{s} ; Item, alloe III onces, V^{d} ; Item, dyagrède I unce, II^{s} ; Item, roſe demie unce, I^{d} ; Item, annis, fenoil et hache, I^{d} ; Item, ſaffran II drames, II^{d} ; Item, colloquinte V drames, III^{d} ; Item, dragagan demie unce, II^{d} ; Item, noiz muguètes et abſinte, IIII^{d} ; Item, maſtic I unce et demie, VI^{d} ; Item, giroſle et coſti, II^{d} ; Item, électuaire de jus de roſe II unces, XII^{d} ; Item, électuaire doux II unces, XII^{d} ; Item, offizaſtre ſimple VI^{l}, X^{s} ; Item, oſſizaſtre compoſt ſix^{l}, X^{s} ; Item, ſirop acetos IIII^{l}, VI^{s} VIII^{d} ; Item, ſirop roſat VI^{l}, X^{s} ; Item, ſirop de menuſar IIII^{l}, VI^{s} VIII^{d} ; Item, calciaſitre I^{l}, VI^{d} ; Pour tout : LXIIII^{s} VIII^{d}.

Li, pour joignement pour meſſire Philippe, XIII^{d}.

Chambre. Le dit Jehan, pour pluſieurs gommes et litarges et autres choſes, pour I emplaſtre pour le Roy, et font VIII^{l}, valent XXIIII^{s} ;

Li, pour IIII^{l} de conſerve d'alixandre, VIII^{s} ;

Li, pour II^{l} de ſirop d'anduit, III^{s} IIII^{d} ;

Pour II^{l} de prunes de Damas, XII^{d} ;

Pour I quarteron de violetes, IIII^{d} ;

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Pour demie livre de Sené, VIII^{d} ;
Pour tout, V^{s} IIII^{d} ;
Li, pour une recepte de pareilles pour le Roy deviſée par M^{r} Guillaume Racine, IIII^{s}.[11]

Michiel Girart pour pluſieurs parties d'eſpicerie priſes de li par Thomaſſin Doucet dès le premier, XXII^{e} et XXV^{e} jour de may, qui à préſent ont eſté rapportées par eſcript, c'eſt aſſavoir : pour XXV^{l} de ſucre caſſon, XIX^{d} livre, valent XXXIX^{s} VII^{d} ; Item, pour I livre d'yeaue roſe, XII^{d} ; Item, pour demie livre de flour de canelle, V^{s} ; Item, III^{l} de miel, VI^{d} ; Item, I quaier de papier, IIII^{d} ; Item, II^{l} annis vert, X^{d} ; Item, II^{l} de madrian, II^{s} VIII^{d} ; Item, demie livre de macis, XX^{d} ; Item, IIII pommes grenates, IIII^{s} ; Item, VI livres de penites, X^{s} ; Item, IIII^{l} de madrian, V^{s} IIII^{d} ; Pour tout, LXX^{s} XI^{d}. Chambre.

Il y a ici une lacune de pluſieurs folios, comprenant la dépenſe extraordinaire des premiers jours du mois de Juin.

Deux dépenſes du 19 et du 26 de ce mois ſont inſcrites ſur une feuille volante, ainſi qu'il ſuit :

Le XIX^{e} jour de Juin.

Pour II pagnez de ſucre qui poyſent XVI livres, ſomme XXII^{s} VIII^{d}.

[11] Note s'appliquant à ces parties de Donet et Lalande : " paié en argent de l'argent P. Scatiſſe."

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Item, pour VI livres de ſucre caſſons, VII^{s} VI^{d};
Item, pour II livres d'anys verd, X^{d};
Item, pour III livres de myel, VI^{d};
Pris par le mayn William le Conken.

Le XXVI^{e} jour de juin.

Pour XII livres de ſucre caſſons, XV^{s};
Item, pour II paignez de ſucre qui poyſent XV livres demi, ſomme XXI^{s} XI^{d};
Item, pour V livres demi de conſerve de cydras, ſomme XVI^{s} VI^{d};
Item, pour un panyer de roſes vermailles, XII^{d};
Pris par le mayn Janyn Doucet.
Item, le même jour, pour I^{c} de oys,[12] le moyté polane,[13] la moyté Spayn;[14] Pris par le mayn Baſtelot, III^{l} V^{s} VI^{d}.
Toute ceſte ſomme ne doit monter que VII^{l} XI^{s} V^{d}.

La ſuite du compte reprend dans une partie interrompue, ainſi qu'il ſuit:

. . . . . Receveur de Troyes, dont l'on li a envoié mandement qu'il les baille au dit Chevalier, les quiex III^{c} eſcuz l'on a receuz céans, et le dit Chevalier doit le dit ſurplus rendre. Et li ont eſté envoiées les dictes lettres par ſon varlet appelé Maciot.

[12] Œufs (?) [13] Pologne (?) [14] Eſpagne (?)

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Le dit Maciot, ſon varlet, qui avait apporté les dictes lettres cloſes, pour ſon retour à aler en France, du commandement du maiſtre d'oſtel, VI eſcus, valent XX^{s}. Hernois.

Meſſire Gaſſe, premier chapellain, pour don fait à li par le Roy et paié de ſon commandement C eſcuz, valent XVI^{l} XIII^{s} IIII^{d}. Don.

Meſſire Philippe, pour deniers à li baillez à faire ſa volenté II nobles, valent XIII^{s} IIII^{d}. Deniers baillés.

Jacques Lefèvre, pour II riules de fer, XVII^{d}. Hernois.

Meſſire Gautier pour parchemin, Item, pour encre et pour un barillot de cuir à la mettre, XX^{d}. Hernois.

Pour aguillettes et ponces, VI^{d}. Hernois.

Michiel Girart, eſpicier, XII livres de ſucre caſſon, XV^{d} livre, valent XV^{s}; Item, pour XV livres et demie de ſucre en pain, XVII^{d} livre, valent XXI^{s} XI^{d}; Item, V livres et demie de chitron, III^{s} livre, valent XVI^{s} VI^{d}; Item, roſes vermeilles, XII^{d}; pour tout, LIIII^{s} V^{d}. Chambre.

Samedy XXIX.

Francois Baudin, pour le loier d'une maiſon eſtant à Londres où l'on met les garniſons du Roy et autres biens, loé de la Saint Michiel CCCLVIII darrein paſſée juſques à la Saint Michiel CCCLXIX en ſuivant: pour I an, V mars, paié du commandement J. de Danville, valent LXVI^{s} VIII^{d}. Hernois.

Le Roy, pour aumoſne ſecréte commandée par li à donner, IIII^{s} IIII^{d}. Aumoſne.

Le dymenche, darrein jour.

Le curé de Touſſaint de Herthford, pour les Offerande.

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offerandes du mois de Juing, contenant XXX jours, II[d] par jour, V[s].

Hernois. Meſſire Gautier de Heilborch, preſtre, acheteur en partie des proviſions et vivres du Roy en Angleterre, pour ſon ſalaire et loyer qu'il prant par an, qui commença à Noel CCCLVIII, Qui monte X mars d'eſterlins ; Pour le terme de la Saint Jehan CCCLIX, V mars, valent X nobles qui valent LXVI[s] VIII[d].

Somme de ce mois, XIII[c] LXVIII[l] XVII[s] III[d].

No. 2.

Jehan, par la grâce de Dieu Roys de France, Savoir faiſons à touz préſenz et avenir: Que, comme en l'an mil trois Cens Cinquante et huit, au mois de décembre devant Noël, en l'oſtel de Savoye, à Londres, en Angleterre, où nous eſtions lors, nous, confianz du ſenz, loyauté et diligence de noſtre amé et féal Secrétaire et Chapellain, Denys de Collors, qui paravant et depuis a touz jours eſté continuelment en noſtre compaignie et encores eſt pour nous ſervir, le euſſions commis et à lui de noſtre propre bouche commandé à faire le fait de la Recepte et deſpenſe ordinaire et extraordinaire de noſtre hoſtel, tant comme il nous plairoit, ou que nous euſſions pourveu d'autre perſonne qui ſ'en entremeiſt, et que de ce contrerolle ſe

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feroit pour nous par le maiſtre de noſtre hoſtel; Et euſſions voleu et ordené par délibéracion de noſtre conſeil que, pour ſavoir plus ſouvant clèrement et preſtement le certain de noſtre eſtat et gouvernement et des finances que envoiées nous ſeroient ès dictes parties pour le vivre de nous et de noz genz eſtanz avec nous et pour noz autres neccеſſitez et noſtre eſtat maintenir, afin de y pourveoir plus toſt et haſtivement, ſe beſoing en euſt eſté, et pour pluſieurs autres cauſes qui à ce nous eſmeurent: Le dit Denys feiſt et rendiſt comptes devant nous, ou ceus de noſtre hoſtel que nous y ordenerions de demi an en demi an, de toute la recepte et deſpenſe quil auroit faite pour nous, comme dit eſt; Et en euſſions retenu et reſervé la cognoiſſance, ſanz ce que noz amez et féauls Genz de noz Comptes à Paris ne autres quelconques ſe en euſſent, peuſſent ou deuſſent entremettre en aucunne manière, puis qu'il en auroit compté une foiz devant nous ou noz diz députez; Non contreſtant ſtile de la chambre de noz diz Comptes ou autres ordenances à ce contraires, ſi comme de toutes ces choſes ſommes plus plainement recors; Et de toute la recepte et deſpenſe que le dit Denys a faicte pour nous, par le temps qui ſ'en eſt entremis, Il ait fait quatre comptes par les termes ou aſſez près, à li ordenez, Et nous ait humblement ſupplié à chaſcun des diz termes que le compte fait par le temps nous vouſiſſions faire

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recevoir et oir ſelon noſtre dite ordenance; Nous, qui avons volu ycelle eſtre tenue et acomplie, et meſmement pour les cauſes deſſus dites avons commis, député, par commandement fait de bouche à pluſieurs perſonnes de noſtre hoſtel dont les noms ſont ci deſſouz eſcripz, eſtanz en noſtre compaignie, pour yceus comptes recevoir et oir à chaſcun terme, leſquielx comptes ont eſté par eulx veuz, receuz, ouiz, examinez et corrigez et trouvez en tout et par tout ſemblables en ſommes, tant en recepte comme en deſpenſe, au dit Contrerolle dont nous avons fait retenir la copie d'iceus comptes par devers nous: C'eſt aſſavoir le premier compte que le dit Denys rendit à Somertonne ou mois d'aouſt trois Cents cinquante et neuf, fait du jour de Noël xxv^{e} jour de décembre trois Cents Cinquante et huit que il ſe entremiſt du fait deſſus dit juſques au premier jour de Juillet trois cens cinquante neuf enſuivant, Par noz amez et féauls, le Conte de Sanceurre, noſtre Chambellant, maiſtre Guillaume Racine, noſtre phiſicien, et Jehan de Damville, maiſtre de noſtre hoſtel; Et fut trouvé par la fin du dit compte que, déducion faite de la recepte aus miſes, le dit Denys nous dut Six cents trante cinq livres, douze ſolz, onze deniers, obole, poictevine; Et le ſecont compte que il a fait et rendu en Janvier trois cens et cinquante neuf, au dit lieu de Sommertonne du premier jour de Juillet CCCLIX

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juſques au premier jour de Janvier en ſuivant, par le dit Conte de Sanceurre, Maiſtre Jehan le Royer, noſtre ſecrétaire, et le dit Jehan de Damville, ou quel ſecont compte il nous a rendu en recepte, devant toutes autres choſes, la ſomme deſſus dite qu'il nous devoit du reſte de ſon premier compte, et ainſi en eſt demorez quittes; Et par la fin d'icelui ſecont compte, a eſté trouvé, toutes choſes comptées et déduites, que nous li avons deu de reſte Six vins ſeize livres, ſeize ſols, ſix deniers eſterlins;—Et le tiers compte ouy à Calais, en ce préſent mois d'aouſt trois Cents ſoixante, par noz amez et féauls le Conte de Joogny, noſtre Chambellant, les diz maiſtre Jehan le Royer et Jehan de Damville, fait depuis le dit premier jour de Janvier CCCLIX, juſques à l'uitiſme jour de Juillet trois cents ſoixante, ou quel compte il a repris ſur nous en deſpenſe la ſomme que nous li devions ci devant de reſte de ſon dit ſecont compte; Et ainſi en ſommes demorez quittes envers lui; Et a eſté trouvé que, après le paiement plenier qu'il nous a fait de certaines ſommes de florins en diverſes eſpèces, les quelx il nous devoit de reſte par la fin d'icelui tiers compte et que nous avons euz et receuz, il nous a deu pour toutes choſes huit livres dixhuit ſolz, cinq deniers eſterlins, que il nous a renduz et paiez en deniers comptanz, et en eſt demorez quittes envers nous;—Et le quart et le darrenier compte rendu par lui au dit lieu de Calais et ouy par les diz maiſtre Jehan

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le Royer, Jehan de Damville et Nicolas Braque, chevalier, maiſtre de noſtre hoſtel, fait du dit VIII^e^ jour de Juillet trois Cens ſoixante que nous veinſmes d'Angleterre à Calais, juſques au premier jour du dit préſent mois d'aouſt en ſuivant, que noſtre amé et féal clerc, Jehan le Coq, maiſtre de noſtre chambre aus deniers, repriſt à faire avec nous l'office et fait de la dite chambre aus deniers, ainſin comme il faiſoit avant noſtre priſe ;—par la fin du quel compte a eſté trouvé que nous avons deu au dit Denys de reſte douze livres, douze ſols, onze deniers, obole ; Un florin roial pour vint et quatre ſolz ; les quieulx nous li avons fait paier par noz tréſoriers, et ainſin en ſommes demorez quittes. Pourquoy, Nous, qui de toutes les choſes deſſus dites et chaſcunne d'icelles nous tenons, tant par la relacion que noz diz députez nous ont fait ſur ce après la réception et audicion de chaſcun des diz comptes comme autrement, pour bien et plainement enformez, Touz et chaſcun des diz comptes, et les choſes dedanz contenues, loons, ratifions, approuvons, Et de certaine ſcience, grâce eſpécial, et auctorité Royal, confermons par ces préſentes et avons fermes et aggréables ; Et voulons, ordenons, décernons et commandons yceus eſtre tenuz et ouyz en tout et par tout pour juſtement et bien receuz, veuz, examinez diligemment et corrigez, oiz, clos et paſſez en force de choſe jugée, tout auſſi et en la manière que ſe il euſſent eſté oiz ordinairement en noſtre dite chambre des Comptes,

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et paſſez et clos par noz dictes genz d'icelle à Paris. Et quittons et délivrons et clamons quitte et délivré plainement à touz jours le dit Denys, ſes hoirs et ſucceſſeurs, de tout le fait deſſus dit et de toutes les reſtes et autres choſes contenues es diz comptes, et nous en tenons pour bien contenz et paiez pour nous et nos ſucceſſeurs, ſanz ce que nous, nos ſucceſſeurs, nos dites gens des comptes, ne autre de quelconque eſtat ne auttorité qu'il euſent, en puiſſent traire en cauſe le dit Denys ou ſes ſucceſſeurs, ne riens demander pour le temps préſent ne avenir; aux quielx quant à ce, nous impoſons perpétuelle ſilence, Non contreſtant uſage, ſtille ou ordenance de noſtre dite Chambre des Comptes ne autres à ce contraires.—Si deffendons par ces préſentes à noz dites Genz des Comptes et à touz autres que contre la teneur de noſtre prèſente ordenance et quittance plenière ne traittent, moleſtent, travaillent ou empeſchent, ne ſeuffrent eſtre traittié, moleſté, travaillé ou empeſché en aucune manière le dit Denys, ſes hoirs ou ſucceſſeurs; mais d'icelles le laiſſent, ſouffrent et facent joir et uſer paiſiblement ſanz contredit. Et que ce ſoit ferme choſe et eſtable à touz jours, nous avons fait mettre notre ſcel à ces lettres, ſauf en autres choſes noſtre droit et en toutes l'autruy. Donné à Calais, l'an de grâce mil Trois Cens Soixante, ou mois d'Aouſt.

Sur le repli: Par le Roy,
J. Royer.

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Tenor iſtarum litterarum ſcribitur in camera computorum in libro memoralium de verbo ad verbum folio XIIII° Scriptum XVI^a die Januari anno Domini M° CCCLX.

S. de Rocha.

No. 3.

Au dos: L'Inventoire des Joyaux de la Royne de Bouloingne.

A touz ceulz qui ces lettres verront, Jehan Bernier, chevalier le Roy noſtre Sire, garde de la prévoſté de Paris, ſalut.—Savoir faiſons que, nous, l'an de grâce mil CCCLXIIII, le jeudi VI^e jour de Juing, veiſmes unes lettres du Roy noſtre dit ſeigneur, ſcellées en double queue du ſcel du quel il uſoit avant qu'il veniſt au gouvernement de ſon Royaume; des quèles lettres la teneur ſ'enſuit:—Charles, par la grâce de Dieu Roys de France, A touz ceulz qui ces lettres verront, ſalut. Comme Ja piéça noſtre très cher Seigneur et père que Diex abſoille, euſt commandé de bouche a noſtre amé et féal clerc, Maiſtre Denys de Collors, ſon ſecrétaire pour le temps, et le noſtre apréſent, pranre, garder et avoir pardevers li pour noſtre dit ſeigneur certainne quantité de ſa veſſelle et de ſes Joyaux d'or et d'argent, tant de ce qui li avoit

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eſté donné par aucunes gens d'égliſe, nobles et habitans de bonnes villes du Royaume, depuis qu'il fu retournéz d'Angleterre après ſa délivrance de priſon; comme d'autre veſſelle et Joyaux qu'il avoit achetéz et autres; Et ſemblablement li euſt baillié la garde de pluſieurs autres choſes qui jadiz feurent de feu noſtre très chière dame, la Royne Jehanne de Bouloigne, dont Diex ait l'âme, de laquelle veſſelle, Joyaux et autres choſes, comme dit eſt, mencion eſt faite plus aplain en deux Inventoires qui faiz avoient eſté ſur ce, les quiex nous avons veuz et fait lire de mot à mot pardevant nous; Et le dit Denys nous ait humblement ſupplié que de toute ycelle veiſſelle, Joyaux et autres choſes contenues ès diz Inventoires dont il avoit la garde et la charge, comme deſſus eſt dit, nous vouſiſſions oyr ou faire veoir et oyr le compte, lequel il eſtoit preſt et appareillié de rendre bon et loyal, et de nous baillier et rendre tout ce qu'il avoit pardevers li des choſes deſſus dites, ſelon ce que par le dit compte il ſeroit tenuz et appartenroit à faire, et que de ce il nous pleuſt li donner et ottroyer noz lettres de quittance et de deſcharge, ſi comme en tel cas appartient; Savoir faiſons que de toute la dite veſſelle, Joyaux, tant d'or comme d'argent, et de toutes les autres choſes contenues ès diz Inventoires, le dit Denys nous a aujourduy rendu bon compte et loyal, de article en article, et ſelon la teneur des diz Inventoires, et nous a

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rendu et baillié toutes les choſes qui par le dit compte a eſté trouvé qu'il eſtoit tenuz de nous rendre et baillier à ceſte cauſe, ſi comme par yceli compte puet plus pleinement apparoir, duquel nous avons retenu copie. Et pour ce, nous, qui le dit compte avons veu, oy, reçeu, et les diz Inventoires fait diligemment examiner en noſtre préſence, nous tenons pour bien contens et apaiez d'iceluy compte, et de toutes les choſes qui dedans y ſont contenues, et en quittons et clamons quitte, et tenons pour deſchargié entièrement et aplain le dit Denys, ſes hoirs et ſucceſſeurs, et ceulz qui de luy auront cauſe, ſans ce que jamais par nous ou par autre, quelque il ſoit, leur en puiſſe eſtre doreſenavant aucune choſe demandée, ne que le dit Denys, ne ſes hoirs ou ſucceſſeurs, ou aucun d'eulz en ſoient tenuz de en plus faire ne rendre compte en noſtre chambre des comptes, ne ailleurs, à quelque perſonne que ce ſoit; Mais voulons et mandons par ces préſentes à noz améz et féaulz, gens de nos diz comptes à Paris, et à touz autres à qui il pourroit appartenir et à chaſcun d'eulz, qu'il en aient et tiegnent pour quitte et deſchargié du tout le dit Denys et ſes hoirs et ſucceſſeurs. En teſmoing de ce, nous avons fait mettre à ces lettres le ſcel dont nous uſions avant que nous veniſſions au gouvernement de noſtre Royaume.—Donné à Paris le IIII[e] jour de May, l'an de grâce mil CCCLXIIII.—Et eſtoient ainſi ſignées: Par le Roy, N. de veires.

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Et nous à ce préſent tranſcript avons mis le ſcel de la prévoſté de Paris, l'an et le jeudi deſſus diz. J. Cadin.

Sur le repli: "Collation eſt faite."
Le ſceau manque.

No. 4.[15] Rouleau de parchemin.

Au dos d'une écriture plus récente:

Eſtat de la vaiſſelle d'argent du Roy Jean à ſon retour d'Angleterre.

Tournay.

Premièrement, I plat d'argent a laver à bibon.
Item, VIII plas pour ſervir à table.
Item, XXXIII eſcuéles d'argent.

De la vaiſſelle rapportée d'Angleterre.

Premièrement, II baſſins dorez et eſmaillez à laver; baillez aus ſommeliers de la chapelle pour ſervir illec du commandement du Roy.

[15] Cet état a déjà été publié par la ſociété de l'hiſtoire de France, d'après un inventaire dreſſé en Septembre 1363, et conſervé aux Archives Nationales. Néanmoins, nous avons cru devoir le reproduire ici, parceque notre expédition faite ſans doute poſtérieurement préſente quelques variantes, et auſſi parceque ce document complète l'enſemble de pièces qui nous viennent de Denys de Collors.

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Item, 1 petit gobelet d'argent doré et eſmaillé ou fons.

Item, Une aguière dorée en ſemblance d'un lion.

Item, Une quarte et une aiguière d'argent.[16] . . . . de fleurs de lis et de vignetes.

Item, Une pinte et une aiguière d'une meſme façon, eſmaillés par dehors.

Item, Une aiguière dorée et eſmailliée en freture.

D'autre Vaiſſelle.

1 drageoir doré eſmaillié.

Item, Une pinte dorée et eſmaillée par dehors à rubis et à perles.

Rains.

IIII Copes a couvècle dorées et eſmaillées.

Paris.

1 pot a Aumoſne. Item la nef d'argent.

Item, Une aiguière d'or à 1 ſaphiret.

[17] . . . . . s dorez.

Item, XX henaps dorez et IIII qui ſont en l'eſchanſonnerie.

Item, VI douzainnes d'eſcuelles dorées.

Item, II bacins à laver.

Item, IIII Juſtes.

Lyon.

II petites aiguières blanches.

Du Pape.

II grans flacons eſmaillés.

[16] Eſpace blanc dans l'original.
[17] Morceau de parchemin enlevé dans l'original.

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Une quarte ſemée de perles.

De la Veſſelle achetée à Avignon.

I Grant bacin d'argent doré.

Item, Une aiguiére d'or à I ſaphiret, armoié dedens le couvècle des armes de France et de Bourgogne.

Item, I gobelet d'or ſamblablement armoié.

Tuelle.

XL eſcuéles d'argent blanches.

Beaufort.

II flacons dorez à courroies de ſoye.

Item, II quartes dorées.

Item, II autres quartes diaprées.

Item, IIII aiguières dorées.

Item, I gobelet doré, eſmaillé dehors, couvert d'un couvècle à couronne.

De l'eſchanconnerie.

Le gobelet du Roy d'Angleterre (il eſt demoré en l'eſchanconnerie.)[18]

Item, le henap d'or qui fut refait du henap de la Royne d'Angleterre.

Troyes.

XII plas d'argent dorez.

Item, II douzainnes d'eſcuèles dorées.

Item, IIII quartes dorées.

Item, II douzaines d'eſcuèles d'argent blanches que Jehan luiffier avoit en garde.

[18] Ces mots entre parenthèses ſont d'une autre écriture que celle de l'Inventaire; l'encre eſt celle qui a ſervi à faire des ſignes dans les marges; ces ſignes que nous n'avons pas reproduits ont ſans doute été tracés dans la reconnaiſſance de l'inventaire.

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(au dos:)
VIII douzaines d'eſcuelles blanches.
VIII plaz blans.
II douzaines plaz dorez.
IIII douzaines d'eſcuelles.

No. 5.

Rouleaude parchemin. En double.

Inventoire de pluſieurs choſes qui furent de la Royne Jehanne de Bouloigne, fait à la pointe du palays le XXVIII[e] jour de mars, l'an mil CCCLXI; préſents J. de Damville, maiſtre Jehan le Coq, Andrieu Poupart et pluſieurs autres.

Primo, Une ymage d'argent doré de noſtre dame, à une couronne à pelles et pierres, et y faut II florins.

Item, Un Gobelet de criſtal garni d'argent doré.

Item, II petites cuilliers d'argent dorées; I véricles (?)

Item, Une teſte d'ambre aſſiſe ſur I pié d'argent, à piés de griffons, et y a langue de ſerpent.

Item, Une foiſſelle[19] d'argent en un eſtui de cuir.

[19] Sorte de panier à préparer le fromage.

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Item, Une crois d'argent dorée en eſtui de cuir.

Item, Un tour d'oncle de griffon garni d'argent.

Item, Un pié d'argent à une croiz, ſans la croiz.

Item, Une croiz de Cor à un cruxefix d'argent doré.

Item, Uns tableaux d'ivire en un eſtui de cuir.

Item, Uns autres tableaux d'ivire touz blans.

Item, Une teſte de ſaintuaires.

Item, Un petit hanap de Coquille ſur 1 pié d'argent deſpecié.

Item, 11 chandeliers d'argent, dont l'un n'a point de broche.

Item, Un tablier[20] de cyprez.

Item, Unes vieilles paternoſtres de fil d'or.

Item, 11 ſaliers à ſers[21] par pièces.

Item, Une nef d'argent armoiée de France et de Bouloigne.

Item, Une petite cuiller d'argent.

Item, Un couſteau à manche et gayne d'ivire, garni d'argent.

Item, Uns petiz poulains[22] de cuivre dorez.

Item, Un fer de glaive.

Item, Un corail garni d'argent.

Item, IIII quarreaux de broderie armoiez

[20] Signifiait habituellement échiquier.
[21] Probablement cercles.
[22] Sorte de jeux de dés.

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d'Evreux et de Bouloigne, et n'y a que VII noyaux à pelles.

Item, VII quarreaux d'or de Chippre à Angelos, et y a IIII noyaux à perles dont il en y a un graté.

Item, Un quarreaux à IIII boutons à pelles.

Item, VI quarreaux de cuir touz wiz[23] armoiez d'Arragon.

Tout en un coffre.

Item, En un autre, Une chambre[24] palée de drap d'or et de veluyau vert, contenant III pièces, c'eſtaſſavoir, ciel, doſſier et couſtepointe doublée de toille Ynde.

Item, Un viez couvertouer de drap d'or ſans fourreure.

Item, Environ III quartiers de drap d'or.

Item, XII pièces de veluyau vermeil, que granz que petites, et ſont en façon de Robe pour la Royne.

Item, une manche de veluyau brodée.

Item, Un gobelet de criſtal à couvècle brodé d'or, à I ſaphir et II pelles.

Item, Un autre gobellet de pierre marbre à couvècle à ſaphirs.

Item, Une aiguière de meſmes.

Item, Un autre gobelet de pierre dont le couvècle eſt deſpecié, garni d'or.

Item, II autres petiz gobelés d'argent doréz.

[23] Vieux.

[24] Etoffes employées pour la décoration et le mobilier d'une chambre.

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Item, Un couvècle d'un gobelet.

Item, II aiguières d'argent dorées ſemées d'eſmaux.

Item, Un dragouer eſmaillé, armoié de Normandie et de Behaigne.[25]

Item, Un autre dragouer plus petit, armoié de France et de Bouloigne.

Item, III cuillers, dont il en ny a II dorées.

Item, le pié et le couvècle d'argent doré d'un gobelet de coquille qui eſt deſpecié, et la garniſon d'environ la coquille.

Item, II tuyaux à boire, l'un doré et l'autre blanc.

Item, Un petit pié d'argent à une virole d'argent.

Item, Un petit pot de criſtail garni d'argent.

Item, Une peinte d'une noiz muguete, garnie d'argent dorée.

Item, Une coquille à pié d'argent doré, à couvècle d'un coq d'argent doré.

Item, Une gibecière à pelles.

Item, Un eſpinglier à pelles.

Item, II petites bourſes à pelles.

Item, Une autre bourſète à pelles.

Item, Un ſeau, dont il y a II granz à II cheſnes.

Item, Un petiz tableaux d'ivire à un Saint Chriſtofle en une boîte.

Item, IIII petiz batonnez de bréſil,[26] virolez.

[25] Bohême.

[26] Bréſillet, bois rouge, que l'on tirait a grands frais

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Item, IIII bauguiers, armoiez d'Evreux et de Bouloigne.

Item, Une Chambre de Camocas vert roié, c'eſt aſſavoir, ciel, cheveciel, et couſtepointe.

Item, Une autre couſtepointe vert deſtainte.

Item, II pièces de courtine de Tartarie vert a roſétes.

Item, Une petite boîte d'argent en un eſtuy de cuir.

Item, Un pavillon de ſatains à fleurs de Liz, et à IIII évangéliſtes.

Item, un autre pavillon vert.

Item, Un doſſier vert.

Item, IIII quarreaux anciens à fleurs de liz.

Item, II quarreaux à ſeoir à table, l'un de veluyau vermeil, et l'autre de drap d'argent.

Item, Un ſincelier[27] blanc.

Item, Un quarrel vert à traiffles, armoié de France et de Bourgoigne.

Item, IIII quarreaux de brodeure Indes, à ymages et à ſers.

Item, Une coutepointe de ſoie jaune.

Item, Un formier[28] et un doſſier à demi ciel de drap d'or et de veluyau vert.

des Indes Orientales et qui a donné ſon nom au Bréſil où les premiers navigateurs le trouvèrent en abondance.

[27] Vaſe ou Ciboire ſuſpendu qui recevait le Saint ſacrement.

[28] Fauteuil.

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II.

Le Poëme de Gaces de la Buigne.

EN parcourant les comptes de Denys de Collors, le lecteur a pu ſ'aſſurer, ainſi que nous le diſions dans l'introduction, que les chevaux, les chiens, les faucons, la chaſſe, le "ſport" en un mot, tenaient une aſſez grande place dans la vie des illuſtres captifs du Roi d'Angleterre. Froiſſart auſſi avait eu ſoin de nous l'apprendre. D'ailleurs, à défaut de ſemblables témoignages, il ſuffiſait de ſavoir qu'un certain degré de liberté avait été laiſſé aux vaincus de Poitiers, pour qu'aucun doute ne reſtât ſur l'emploi de leurs loiſirs; car la chaſſe

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était, au moyen-âge, le principal, preſque l'unique paſſe-temps d'une ſociété rude et encore à peu près barbare. Il nous a donc paru utile de compléter les renſeignements que nous avons pu raſſembler, en y ajoutant quelques notions ſur la manière dont on pratiquait alors cet exercice; noble et mâle plaiſir, dont Xénophon n'avait pas dédaigné d'écrire les règles, et chaudement recommandé par lui aux jeunes gens qui ſe deſtinaient au métier des armes; généralement aimé des hommes de guerre de tous les temps (pour ne citer que la France, Henri IV. et le Grand-Condé y excellaient); aimé auſſi de nos jours par des hommes d'humeur moins belliqueuſe; odieux, ſ'il eſt protégé par des lois tyranniques, ridicule ſ'il devient une occupation excluſive, mais innocent quand il n'eſt la ſource d'aucune vexation, et, ſ'il eſt pris dans une ſage meſure, entretenant une cer-

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taine énergie dans les habitudes qu'une civiliſation avancée pourrait trop amollir. Laiſſons là ces conſidérations; gardons-nous d'imiter les écrivains qui ont traité de la chaſſe, et qui n'ont jamais cru pouvoir en expoſer les préceptes ſans les accompagner d'un long plaidoyer deſtiné à démontrer l'excellence de cet exercice. Nous n'avons voulu qu'entrer en matière et juſtifier en quelque ſorte les citations que nous allons faire. C'eſt du Roi Jean qu'il ſ'agit, c'eſt à lui qu'il faut revenir.

Or un poëme écrit par un des compagnons volontaires de la captivité de ce prince, commencé en Angleterre même, par ſes ordres, pour l'inſtruction de ſon jeune fils, priſonnier comme lui, et qu'il voulait préſerver du pêché d'oiſiveté, nous initie complétement aux "déduits" que ce Roi aimait tant. La collection de Condé renferme deux manuſcrits de ce

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poëme, l'un ſur vélin d'une bonne et liſible écriture du 15^e ſiècle, l'autre d'une écriture moins ſoignée, mais beaucoup plus précieux à tous égards; car il eſt contemporain de l'auteur, il a appartenu à un des fils du Roi Jean, le Duc de Berry, dont il porte la ſignature autographe; enfin il eſt un des rares ſpécimens des premiers papiers de coton employés à la fin du moyen-âge. Néanmoins, malgré l'intérêt qui ſ'attache à ce curieux livre, j'héſitais à faire avec lui plus ample connaiſſance; car je le croyais uniquement conſacré à la Fauconnerie, ſcience aſſurément fort reſpectable, mais dont j'ignore les moindres éléments, et que je ne ſentais aucun beſoin d'étudier. Cependant, par intérêt pour le Roi Jean, j'entrepris réſolument la lecture de mes manuſcrits, et je reconnus avec ſatisfaction que la chaſſe à courre, la Vénerie (car on l'appelait déjà ainſi alors) oc-

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cupait une large part du poëme. En effet, c'eſt un traité complet de vénerie et de fauconnerie, ſous la forme d'un débat entre les déduits de chiens et d'oiſeaux ; l'arrêt rendu par le Roi en ſon conſeil, formulé et prononcé par la Raiſon, tranſmis par notre vieil ami, le Comte de Tancarville, renvoye, comme on peut croire, les parties dos à dos. L'auteur cependant ne peut pas diſſimuler ſa partialité pour les faucons ; mais il avoue que le Roi préférait les chiens, et, forts de cette autorité, nous nous en tiendrons à la vénerie. Hâtons-nous de le dire, notre poëme n'eſt ni inconnu, ni inédit. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye en a donné une bonne et longue analyſe dans le troiſième volume de ſes mémoires ſur l'ancienne Chevalerie,[29] et l'ouvrage lui-même a été imprimé à la ſuite de quelques anciennes éditions du traité de la

[29] Paris, 1781.

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chaſſe de Gaſton Phébus.[30] Mais, ſuivant l'uſage du 18e ſiècle, Se Palaye ſ'eſt borné à des citations très courtes et arrangées à ſa guiſe. Quant aux éditions imprimées, elles ſont fort rares ; le texte y eſt tronqué et très inexactement reproduit. Nous avons donc jugé loiſible de faire aſſiſter le lecteur à une des parties de chaſſe du Roi Jean, telles qu'elles ſont racontées dans notre poëme. Nous avions d'abord ſongé à choiſir la chaſſe du Renard ; mais l'auteur la traite fort légèrement, et nous avons craint que nos lecteurs Anglais ne lui ſuſſent mauvais gré du peu de cas qu'il en paraît faire. Nous avons donc mieux aimé le ſuivre à la chaſſe françaiſe et royale par excellence, celle du Cerf. Nous expliquerons par des notes ce qui pourrait paraître peu

[30] Paris, Trepperel, ſ. d., f°.—Michel Lenoir, 1520, 4°, &c. Le nom de l'auteur n'eſt donné dans aucune de ces éditions.

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intelligible ; mais pour comprendre ce qu'on va lire, il n'eſt nul beſoin d'être archéologue ou paléographe ; il ſuffit d'être un peu veneur. Tout a changé en France depuis le quatorzième ſiècle ; ſeules, la langue et les règles de la vénerie ſont reſtées immuables. Le ſavant traité du Comte de Foix, Gaſton Phébus, contemporain du Roi Jean, eſt encore aujourd'hui un livre claſſique pour nos chaſſeurs à courre. Les Du Fouilloux, les Salnove, les d'Yauville, les La Conterie, tous nos théreuticographes plus modernes, peuvent paſſer pour ſes commentateurs. Ils ont modifié la forme, mais non le fonds, et les mots techniques ſont tous demeurés. Ainſi, en liſant le récit que nous tranſcrivons ici, on peut oublier que le Roi Jean eſt là, à cheval, au milieu de ſes piqueurs, et croire qu'on aſſiſte à une des bruyantes chaſſes qui agitent encore aujourd'hui les

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beaux ombrages de Compiègne, de Chantilly ou de Rambouillet.

Si parleray de cil qui chaſſe
Le cerf, car n'eſt ſi noble chaſſe,
En traictant par eſpécial
De la chace qui eſt Royal,
Et premièrement du plaiſir
Qu'on pueƈt avoir au cerf quérrir,
Et coment il fault grant ſcience
Et grant art et grant diligence.
La journée qu'on doit chaſſier,
Il ne convient point eſveillier
Le bon veneur ; car moult à tart
Lui eſt qu'il euvre de ſon art.
Si ſe lièvе très bien matin,
Et en queſte va le chemin ;
Mais il n'oublie pas ſon chien,
Ou autrement ne feroit rien.
Il regarde ſouvent à terre
Pour les erres du Cerf[31] mieux quere.
Si en voit tant et ſus et jus,
Qu'il congnoiſt qu'il eſt ſans refus.
Et adonc lui vient la plaiſance ;
Car par le pié a congnoiſſance
De la beſte, et par les fumées,[32]
Par le fréer,[33] par les portées,[34]

[31] Traces ou voies du cerf.
[32] Excréments du cerf.
[33] Traces laiſſées par le cerf au milieu des branches.
[34] Partie du taillis la plus haute où la tête du cerf ait laiſſé des traces.

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Et auſſi par le viender.[35]
Mais il ne veult pas oublier
Que des fumées il ne preigne ;
Car c'eſt choſe qui bien enſaigne
Aux compaignons qui bien ont lu,
Se c'eſt beſte où il ait refus.
Or veut-il deſtourner ſon cerf ?[36]
Si prent ſon chien qui eſt ſon ſerf,
Et voit qu'il en a de bonne erre ;
Si ne ſe fainct pas de la querre,
Combien qu'il ne le veuille mie
Trouver aumoins pour celle fie,
Mais bien ſ'en veult acertener,
Afin qu'il le puiſſe trouver
Plus toſt, quand le vendra quérir.
Si verrez adoncques baudir
Le lymier, et ſi fort tirer,
Et ſi ſouvent ſ'en eſtrier,
Que celuy qui le ménera
Tellement ſ'en eſiouira
Qu'il paſſera, ſans ſoy grever,
Où le chien le vouldra mener.
Si ſcay je bien que c'eſt grant paine ;
Mais le déduit du chien le maine,
Et l'amour et la congnoiſſance
Qu'il puet avoir en la ſcience.
Mais or y a bien grant maiſtrie

[35] Lieu où le cerf a pâturé.
[36] Détourner un animal, c'eſt arriver à reconnaître, à l'aide d'un limier, l'endroit oú cet animal eſt repoſé et où on pourra l'attaquer avec les autres chiens.

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Que tant il ne ſ'aprouche mie
Qu'il en face le cerf partir.
Mais de ce ſe ſcet bien chevir ;
Car il congnoiſt par ſon limier
Que trop ne ſe doit aprouchier.
Et ſi puet veoir par raiſon
Se c'eſt ne pays ne buiſſon
Où grant cerf doyt demourer,
Ou ſ'il ſ'en doit oultre paſſer.
Et, ſelon ce qu'il en verra,
Ses briſées[37] tantoſt fera,
Et tourne à deſtre et à ſeneſtre
Pour mieulx ſcavoir ou il puet eſtre,
En avironnant le pays
Où mieulx cuide qu'il ſe ſoit mis.
Si a ſon chien à l'abandon,
Qu'il maine ou trait ; car il eſt bon ;
Qui ne ſe faint pas de quérir
S'il en pourra riens aſſentir,
Et ſon maiſtre fait ſon pouvoir
Et d'en veoir et d'en ſavoir ;
Et quant voit que lui ne ſon chien
N'en ont, ne ilz n'en voyent rien,
Et il a bien fait tout le tour,
Adoncques ſe met au retour,
En briſant où voit qu'eſt à faire
Pour mieulx retrouver ſon affaire.
Et puis ſ'en vient à l'aſſemblée

[37] Branches que le valet de limier caſſe et ſême ſur ſon chemin pour reconnaître l'endroit où il a détourné la bête.

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Où grant compagnie a trouvée ;
Car le Roy y eſt jà venu,
Qui eſt ſoubz un cheſne fueillu
Et regarde des chiens la muete
Qui eſt ſi belle et ſi nette,
De ces ſages chiens d'Alemaigne,
Et de ces bons chiens de Bretaigne ;
Et de pluſieurs autres pays
En y a, ce m'eſt bien avis ;
Et auſſi vont venir veneurs
Qui viennent de queſte pluſieurs ;
Car, ſelon le buiſſon qu'ils font,
De veneurs tous en queſte vont.
Devant le Roy font leur rapport,
Qui y prent et joye et déport,
Et eſpèrant qu'il chacera ;
Car très bonnes nouvelles a.
Là ſe jugeront les fumées
Qui auront eſté apportées.
Et adoncques en parleront
Ceux qui le mieulx ſ'y congnoiſtront ;
Si avient-il ſouventeſſois,
Devant princes et devant Roys,
Que ceux qui le moins ſi congnoiſſent
Plus en parle et plus en noiſent.
Et quant ont oy le Rapport
De tous, ſi chèent en accort
Lequel des cerfs ils chaſſeront.
Ceux qui veulent boire beuront
Légièrement. Puis on amène
Courciers qui ont mengié avaine.

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Si verriés là monter veneurs
Qui ſont ſi roydes coureurs,
Aydes, paiges et varletz
De chiens, ſi appers et ſi nets ;
Veſtuz de vert ſeront treſtuit ;
Car n'y a fors gens de déduit.
Pourquoy je vous dy ſans doubtance
Que plus grant en eſt la plaiſance.
Là ſe met chacun en arroy
Pour chacier, et monte li Roy
Sur un très beau joli courcier
De Pouille, ſain, net et entier,
Bien embouchié, et fort, et ſeur,
Et toſt alant ; ſi eſt grant eur
De trouver un ſi bon courcier
Pour le Roy, quant il veult chacier.
Et quant ſe ſent deſſus monté
Et voit qu'a cheval à ſon gré,
Et qu'en ſon fait n'a nul deffault
Pour bien chacier, ne riens ny fault ;
Et ſi a temps à ſon talent,
Car ne fait ne pluye ne vent.
Si a fait de bons chiens laiſſier
Dix ou douze pour relaiſſier.
Puis il a ſon maiſtre veneur,
Qui eſt homme de grant honneur,
Près de luy, qui ſon faict ordaine.
Si luy conſeille qu'il ne maine
Que XXXVIII chiens ou XL ;
Mais il en veult avoir L,
Pour leſſier courre, à celle foiz ;

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Car je vous di que c'eſt bien droiz
Qu'en chace de Roy ait grant cry
Et grant noiſe pour voir le dy.
Adoncques ſe va mettre en la fieute [36]
Avec cinquante chiens de meute,
Si bien chaſſans qu'on ne pourroit
Si bons trouver qui les vauldroit ;
Car onc découplé ne vola
Meilleur chien que maint en y a ;
Dunes aleures ſont tous duit,
Sans retraire juſqu'à la nuit.
Or ſe va du cerf aprouchant
Cil qui va le lymier ſuivant,
Et dit au chien : parcy, parcy !
Adoncques il part devant luy
Un cerf qui eſt et vieil et grant,
Lequel à l'ueil va regardant.
Tantoſt il ſe prend à huer
Pour chiens, et trois longs mots corner.
Adonc le Roy ſeſjouyt mont,
Et tous ceulx qui avecques luy ſont,
Quant ont ouy le ſon du cor
Qui ainſi reſjouyt le cuor.
Si fait le Roy commandement
Qu'on abate chiens viſtement.
Mais qui varlez de chiens verroit
Jamais hommes ne les harroit,
Comme à deſcoupler ſont apers,
Et en ce qu'ont à faire expers.
Si trayent les chiens au lymier ;

[36] Fuite ; paſſage du Cerf.

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Mais le cerf n'a point d'eſcuyer,
Et pour ce n'ont-ils pas failli
Que tous ne l'ayent accueilli ;
Et auſſi leur ſcet bien baillier
Cil qui a ſuy le lymier.
Adoncques y a telle noiſe
Qu'il n'eſt homs qui ſur deux pieds voiſe
Qui onc oyſt tel mélodie ;
Car n'eſt reſpons, ne alleluye,
Et feuſt chantée en la Chappelle
Du Roy, qui là eſt bonne et belle,
Qui ſi grant plaiſance face
Comme eſt ouir une tel chace.
Les uns vont chantans le motet,
Les autres font double hoquet,
Les plus grans chantent la teneur,
Les autres la cont-teneur ;
Ceulx qui ont la plus clère gueule
Chantent la treſble ſans demeure,
Et les plus petits le quadrouble,
En faiſant la quinte ſur double ;
Les uns font ſemithon mineur,
Les autres ſemithon maieur,
Diapenthe, diapazon,
Les autres dyatheffaron.
Adonc le Roy met cor a bouche,
Qui n'eſpargne n'eſtoc, ne ſouche.
Si commence fort à corner ;
Tantoſt a ouy fort huer
Près de luy. Si treuve une route
Qui tout droit celle part ſ'arroute,

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Qui eſt large et bien ellaguée,
Et par deſſus bien eſmaichée.
Si a de l'eſperon féru ;
Mais avant que là ſoit venu,
Le cerf devant lui eſt paſſé,
Qui n'eſt encores en rien laſſé.
Si le regarde liément
Pour le grant plaiſir qu'il y prent ;
Car il porte ſi belle teſte
Que chacun en doit avoir feſte.
Il eſt bien de XXVIII cors,
Et ſi eſt cerf qui a grant corps.
Illec le Roy ſ'eſt arreſté,
Tant que les chiens ſont tuit paſſé ;
Qui tellement leur cerf chaſſoient,
Pour ce que tout enſemble eſtoient,
Qu'il n'eſt homme, ſ'il les ouyſt,
Qui jamais le déduit hayſt
Et pour la joye qu'il y euſt,
Luy ſembla que tout ravy feuſt ;
Meſmement que venoit partie
Des veneurs par celle partie
Qui avecques la meute eſtoyent,
Et de corner l'eſbaudiſſoyent,
Et leur parloient un langaige
Que bien entendent li chien ſaige.
Auſſi, ſ'ilz voulſiſſent faillir,
Pour les dreſſier ſans deffaillir
Les autres eſtoyent darrière.
Pluſieurs en avoit en coſtière,
Et aucuns vieillars qui ſont ſaige

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Vont aux accours à l'avantaige.
Le cerf fuit par une valée
En la haulte foreſt ramée.
Si ne ſe faignent de chaſſier
De gueule et de ſ'en eſtrier
Chiens ; car bien à la chace ſont,
Et auſſi que de près en ont.
Et tout homme qui là eſtoit,
Sachiés que pas ne ſe faignoit
De corner, crier ou huer ;
Et vaulx et monts de reſſonner ;
Neys les arbres qui là eſtoyent,
Il ſembloit à tous qu'ils parloyent.
Echo double chace faiſoit
Qui là vint, car leur reſponnoit.
Si ouiſſiez là tel déduit
Que riens il n'y avoit de vuit.
Le cry eſtoit continuel
Des gens et des chiens autre tel.[39]
Parquoy la plaiſance y eſtoit
Plus grande au Roy qui là chaçoit,
Et à tous ceulx qui là eſtoyent
Qui le déduit des chiens amoyent.
Or eſt hors du boys le fuyant,
Et va par un accours fuyant.
Si chaſſeront de forlongné[40]
Les chiens ; car d'eulx ſ'eſt eſlongné.

[39] Egalement.
[40] Un cerf forlonge lorſqu'il a beaucoup d'avance ſur les chiens.

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De levriers une ſeule leſſe[41]
Ne veult le Roy qu'on y relaiſſe ;
Ançoys commande qu'on ſ'efforce
Que ſans relais ſoit pris à force.
Car près eſtoit de la ſepmaine
Que on feſte la Madalaine,
Que les cerfs ont grant venaiſon,
Pour ce que c'eſt cuer de ſaiſon.
Et quant il ot paſſé le cours
De demie lieue d'accours,
Celle teſte li abaiſſa,
Et le col fort li aloigna.
Si ſent bien qu'il eſt eſchauffé
Et qu'aſſés toſt ſera laſſé.
Adonc nature li apprend
Un merveilleux enſeignement ;
Car le fait ſur lui rafuir[42]
Pour les chiens faire illec faillir,
Et faire les ſaulx et les ruſes,
Pour faire faire aux chiens les muſes ;
Et au travers ſ'en va fuyant,
Et puis va le change quérant,[43]
Et tantoſt, comme il l'a trouvé,
Emmy la herde[44] ſ'eſt bouté,

[41] Une leſſe de levriers ſignifie une couple de levriers. Ils ne ſont plus employés dans la chaſſe du cerf.
[42] Revenir ſur ſes pas.
[43] Un cerf cherche le change quand il va ſe mêler à d'autres animaux afin que les chiens ne puiſſent plus reconnaître ſa voie.
[44] Harde, troupe de cerfs et de biches enſemble.

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Où il a du harpail[45] aſſez.
Mais ſachiés qu'il eſt ſi laſſez
Que longuement il ne puet mie
Fouir à celle compagnie ;
Mais ſe laiſſe aſſez près cheoir
En lieu qu'on ne le puet veoir.
Maintenant y a tel déduit
Qu'il n'eſt nul à qui il ennuit ;
Car les chiens chacent tellement
De forlongnie et ſoubz le vent,
Par champs, par chemins, par poudrières,
Par planſtureaux et par jachières,
Que, ſi le cerf à l'œil revient,
Mieux chacier ils ne le pouroient.
Si eſt grant délectacion
Ouir telle admiration
Que chiens en doyent aſſentir
De ſi long devant eulx fouir.
Et quant ont longuement chacié,
De la ruſe ſont approuchié ;
Mais dès ce qu'ilz y ſont venus,
Sans mot dire, or ſe ſont teus.
Si crièrent Veneurs : Arrière !
Arrière ! arrière ! Arrière !
Adonc ſe remettent en queſte
Les chiens, pour retrouver leur beſte,
En faiſant leur tour ſaigement,
Comme nature leur aprent.
Si eſt toſt deffaicte la ruſe,

[45] Certaine quantité de biches et de jeunes cerfs.

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Sans que longuement on y muſe ;
De quoy la plaiſance eſt greigneur
Aux Veneurs, auſſi au Seigneur.
Longue requeſte ne vaut rien,
Ne pour l'homme, ne pour le chien :
A l'homme n'eſt pas délectable,
Et au chien n'eſt pas profitable,
Pour ce que, tant plus y ſeront,
Moins de leur beſte aſſentiront.
L'un des ſaiges chiens en aſſent,
Qui ſ'en eſcrie telement
Qu'il ſemble à tous qu'on l'ait féru.
Les autres chiens l'ont entendu,
Qui trayent à lui viſtement.
L'un des veneurs tantoſt l'entent,
Qui à lui parle en le nommant ;
Chaſcun trait à lui maintenant.
Si recommance le grand cry.
Le Roy de l'eſperon féry,
Et maints autres qui là eſtoient,
Qui en requeſte eſté avoyent.
Si a chacun plaiſance eu
De ce qu'il a ouy et veu.
Mais or vient le plaiſir plus grant ;
Car les chiens, qui là vont chaçant,
Ont trouvé le change [46] en la taille
Où leur droit [47] a eſté ſans faille.

[46] Sont arrivés à l'endroit où le cerf ſ'eſt mis dans la harde d'animaux.

[47] Un chien courant chaſſe le droit quand il va du côté où le cerf a la tête tournée.

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Si ne ſont du change nul compte,
Mais ſemble qu'ils en ayent honte,
Et en retrayant vont chaçant,
Et les ruiſſeaux ſ'en vont fleurant.
Et adonc, quoique nul en die,
Là eſt des veneurs la maiſtrie
Des fols chiens ſaigement retraire
Et aux ſaiges chiens laiſſier faire
Tout bellement, ſans les haſter
Et ſans les faire oultre paſſer.
Mais ils ſ'en ſceurent bien chevir ;
Car ne les ont pas fait faillir.
Pour ce ont ils leur droit deſmellé,
Du change où il ſ'eſtoit mellé,
Et ſi ont ſaigement deffait
Tout ce que devant avoyent fait.
Si eſt lencié devant les chiens.
Adoncques on n'y ouiſt riens,
Neiz Dieu tonnant, ſi com je croy,
Fors ſeulement des chiens le gloy ;
Or le voit chacun orendroit,
Si cognoiſſent que c'eſt leur droit,
Et qu'il ne puet guaires fouir ;
Si en ont et joye et plaiſir.
Toutes voyes tant eſt alé,
Qu'un petit marchès a trouvé,
Où il ſ'eſt alé reſſeauver.
Mais là ne puet pas demourer
Longuement, car les chiens noeent
Bien près de lui qui le chaçoient.
Là ſe ſont pluſieurs aſſemblés.

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Si ne ſ'en va pas en amblé,
Mais aboier[48] ſe fait ſouvent,
Combien qu'aſſez y ait de gent;
Et pour ce puet bien chacun dire
Pour vray qu'il eſt au deſconfire.
Aſſez toſt aprèz, en un pré,
Entre deuz boys, ſ'eſt arreſté;
Car ne puet plus aler avant,
Et les chiens qui le vont chaçant
De tous lez l'ont environné.
Et quant ſe ſent ſi mal mené,
Si ſe deffent à ſon povoir;
Mais qui en veult dire le voir,
Grand péril eſt d'aler à luy;
Car il eſt frayé et brunny.[49]
Or eſt la plaiſance plus grant
Au Roy qui ce va regardant,
Et à tous ceulx qui là eſtoyent
Qui ce déduit à l'œil veoyent,
Que n'avoit eſté par devant
Quand les chiens l'aloyent chaçant.
Car il lui ont mené tel guerre
Qu' aſſés toſt l'ont tiré à terre,

[48] Lorſque le cerf eſt forcé et au milieu des chiens, ceux-ci crient d'une certaine manière, et c'eſt alors ſeulement qu'on ſe ſert du mot aboyer. "Les chiens aboyent. Le cerf eſt aux abois."

[49] Lorſque les bois du cerf repouſſent chaque année, ils ſont couverts d'une ſorte de duvet blanchâtre que l'animal fait tomber en ſe frottant aux arbres. Les bois prennent alors une couleur foncée, et l'on dit que "le cerf a frayé bruni."

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Et l'un des veneurs li boute
Son eſpée deſſoubz le coute.
Si leur laiſſe l'en là fouler
Sans laiſſier le cuir entamer;
Et puis on les a fait retraire
Courtoiſement, ſans leur meffaire.
Adonc on li fait ſon ſerviſe;
Car tous enſemble cornent priſe.
Si y a telle mélodie
En faiſant hoquez pour maiſtrie,
Et puis en la fin un long mot,
Qu'il n'eſt nul homme, ſ'il les ot,
Qui vouſiſt autre Paradis
Avoir, ſi comme il m'eſt avis.

Puis vient la deſcription de la curée et du joyeux repas qui ſuit la chaſſe. Chacun conte des anecdotes ſingulières;

Neys le Roy de ce qu'il ot dire
Un peu ſ'en eſt pris à ſoubzrire.

Mais il ne faut pas tout prendre pour menteries;

Car és déduiz les aventures
Souvent y aviennent ſi dures
Que jamais cil ne le croiroit
Qui des déduiz rien ne ſavoit,

Et l'auteur à ce propos, cite ce vieux proverbe:

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De chiens, d'oiſeaulx, d'armes, d'amours,
Pour une joie cent doulours.

Il y a de tout dans ce poëme : les conſeils de morale, les récits d'aventures et de batailles, les leçons de guerre, voire les extraits d'Ariſtote et d'Albert le Grand y tiennent autant de place que les épiſodes de chaſſe et les préceptes de vénerie ou de fauconnerie. L'auteur était décidément un homme univerſel ; il ſe piquait même d'être un peu gaſtronome, ſi nous en jugeons par le récit ſuivant, qui donnera une idée de ce que pouvait être le " comfort" au 14e ſiècle et d'un de ces dîners qu'on eut appelé un peu plus tard un repas d'honnêtes gens.

Les chaſſeurs au vol, Lieſſe, Vérité, Honneur, Vaillance, Raiſon, &c. ont paſſé la journée en rivière. Ils ont arrêté Avarice et Convoitiſe, qui avaient eu l'audace de leur diſputer le terrain, et les ont remis à quatre

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ſergents qui conduiront ces indignes fauconniers au Châtelet; le Prévôt de Paris en fera ſon affaire. Nos chaſſeurs, contents et fatigués de leur journée, ſe réuniſſent pour ſouper au Bourget,[50] à l'hôtel de la Fleur de Lys,

Hoſtellerie
De tout ce qu'il fault bien garnie.
En la cuiſine ſont les queux;
Là demande ce que tu veulx.
La ſalle a double cheminée
Qui fut de blanc feuvre poudrée,
Où furent grans feulx alumés.
. . . . . .
Benoit ſoit qui tel cheminée
Fiſt; car ny ot point de fumée.
La ſalle ot à doſſé la biſe;
Car fut faite de bonne guiſe,
Les feneſtres davers midi
Bien clouentes pour ooir le di.

Après divers récits le moment du repas arrive:

Les torches furent alumées,
Et les tables très bien parées
De blanches napes bien lavées.

[50] Village ſitué a deux lieues de Paris, dans la plaine Saint Denys, pays renommé jadis pour la chaſſe au faucon.

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Et après benedicite,
Raiſon qui ſcet bien qu'on doit faire
En ce cas, ſans à nul deſplaire,
Diſt à Honneur et à Vaillance,
Qui eſtoyent du ſang de France :
Alez vous deux en ce milieu,
Car ce doit eſtre voſtre lieu.

Suit la répartition des places; puis,

Aux ſerviteurs Raiſon comande
Qu'ils allaſſent à la viande.
En la cuiſine eſtoit Largeſſe
Qui en grans plats viande dreſſe.

. . . . . .

Premier, donna double potage,
L'un d'un blanc brouet d'Alemagne,
L'autre d'un brun grave d'Eſpagne.
Diligence le vin ſervoit,
Si qu'à chacun plaiſir faiſoit.
De la bonté ne fault parler,
Car il eſtoit de Beaune cler,
Et qui en vouloit de Françoys
Servi en eſtoit comme Roys.
De groſſes chars furent ſervis
A la manière du pays.
Gros jambons y ot, au chault poivre,
S'en voulurent plus ſouvent boire.
Si furent ſervis aſſés toſt
De trois paire ou quatre de roſt,
Faiſans, perdris, connis, plouviers ;
S'en mengièrent bien voulentiers,

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Frais et chaulx et bien à point cuit ;
Sen vallent mieux ſinon recuit ;
Bonnes ſaulces et bien moulues,
D'eſpices bien à point aigues.
Si ny ot oncques entremès
Sachiés certainement, ne mès
Gros et gras oyſeaulx de rivière ;
Si y ot moult très bien manière
A les roſtir un peu loignet,
Pour ce que la cher dure en eſt ;
Mais on ne meſt point d'oignonnet
En la dodine faite au let.

. . . . . .

Là on ſervit de venoiſon
De ſenglier, car lors eſt en ſaiſon ;
Avecques ce de fourmentée
Bien faite ſans eſtre arſée.
Après furent ſervis de fruit
De troys manières, crou et cuyt ;
En la fin ne faillirent pas
Les oublées et hypocras.
Et quant fut temps, furent oſtées
Les nappes, et les mains lavées,
Tantoſt les tables abatues,
Et puis après furent rendues
D'un preſtre qui avoit nom Gaces
Devant la compagnie graſces.

Ce prêtre " Qui avait nom Gaces" n'était autre que l'auteur du poëme, et peu après il nous donne les ſeuls

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détails biographiques que nous ayons ſur lui.

Gace de la Buigne, ou de la Bigne, ou de la Vigne, auſſi appelé dans la Gallia Chriſtiana Gaſſio de Vineis, était un gentilhomme de Normandie, héréditairement paſſionné pour les oiſeaux et la fauconnerie; dès l'âge de neuf ans, il allait par les champs ſon hobereau[51] ſur le poing; à douze, il ſavait affaiter[52] un faucon. Cependant il lui fallut dire pour un temps adieu à ces charmants plaiſirs; car il était deſtiné à entrer dans les ordres, et l'école le réclamait. Si nous en croyons l'érudition qu'il déploye dans ſon poëme, il y fit d'aſſez complètes études, et devint même un ſavant muſicien; car il eſt difficile d'imaginer une comparaiſon plus ſavamment muſicale, toute groteſque qu'elle ſoit, que celle qui lui eſt ſug-

[51] Eſpèce de petit oiſeau de proie.
[52] Apprivoiſer.

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gérée par le bruit des chiens en pleine chaſſe.[53] Bref, après avoir été quelque temps ſous le patronage du Cardinal de Preneſtre, Pierre des Prés, il fut attaché à la perſonne du Roi Philippe VI., et devint ſon " Maiſtre Chapellain."

Mais, tout en rempliſſant fort exactement, nous aſſure-t-il, les devoirs du ſaint miniſtère, il continuait d'aller aſſidument en rivière et y apportait une ardeur qui parut aſſez peu canonique à beaucoup de gens. Du moins a-t-il ſoin dans ſon poëme de repouſſer avec une certaine chaleur les attaques dont il était l'objet, ſ'appuyant d'autorités illuſtres, entr'autres d'un certain Denys le Grant, que ſa qualité d'évêque de Senlis n'avait pas empêché d'écrire ſur les faucons. Ces attaques, d'ailleurs, ne firent à Gaces de la Buigne aucun tort en haut lieu : maintenu dans ſa charge

[53] Voir plus haut, p. 174.

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par le Roi Jean, le premier chapelain fut rejoindre en Angleterre ſon maître captif, et reçut de lui une miſſion de confiance, bien qu'au premier abord elle ne parut pas tout-à-fait dans les attributions d'un prêtre, celle d'enſeigner la fauconnerie au jeune Philippe de France. A l'inſtruction pratique dont les comptes de Denys de Collors ont conſervé la trace,[54] Gaces voulut joindre un code de préceptes, et ne trouva rien de mieux que de le mettre en vers. Il commença ſon poëme, au moment où le Roi fut transféré à Hertford ; mais, très peu après, la maiſon de l'illuſtre captif fut réduite par ordre du gouvernement anglais, et Meſſire Gaces fut renvoyé en France au mois de juin 1359.[55] De retour dans ſa patrie, il continua l'œuvre qu'il avait entrepriſe; mais la tâche qu'il s'était

[54] Voir plus haut, pp. 102, 119.
[55] Rymer. Sauf-conduit du 21 Juin.

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impoſée pour plaire à ſon maître ne fut pas vite achevée; car il parle quelque part dans ſon poëme du Chancelier Pierre d'Orgemont, qui fut élu à cette dignité par ſcrutin, le Roi préſent dans le Louvre, le 20 novembre 1373. Notre auteur avait conſervé ſous Charles V. les fonctions qu'il avait exercées ſous Philippe VI. et Jean le Bon. Nous ignorons la date de ſa mort; mais, pour nous conformer au vœu qu'il émet à la fin de ſon livre, nous terminerons en priant

" Que Dieu li pardoint ſes défauts;
Car moult ama Chiens et Oiſeaulx."

H. D'ORLEANS.

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NOTICES

CONCERNING JOHN CABOT AND HIS SON SEBASTIAN.

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NOTICES concerning JOHN CABOT and his SON SEBASTIAN;

Tranſcribed and tranſlated from original Manuſcripts in the Marcian Library at Venice.

BY RAWDON BROWN.

EAMILIAR as is the name of Cabot to all who are acquainted with the hiſtory of maritime diſcovery, it is not, perhaps, ſo generally known that there are two of the name, John and his more celebrated ſon Sebaſtian, between whom the credit of the diſcoveries, looſely attributed to "Cabot," muſt be divided; and that the proportion of merit

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which is due to each, has been the ſubject of diſpute.

In the year 1497, according to the author of "the memoir of Sebaſtian "Cabot" (pages 42-4,) on the morning of St. John's day, the 24th of June, the commander of the ſhip "the Matthew," of Briſtol, firſt diſcovered the ſhores of the American continent. The name of the "chief patron," is ſaid by Robert Fabian, the chronicler (who died 1511), to be John Cabot. This teſtimony is farther confirmed by the patent granted by Henry VII. "to John Cabot and "his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian "and Sancius, and their heirs or depu-"ties, to ſail to all parts, countries, "and ſeas of the eaſt, of the weſt, "and of the north; to ſeek out and "diſcover, and find whatſoever iſles, "countries, regions or provinces of "the heathens and infidels, whatſo-"ever they be, and in what part of

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" the world ſoever they be, which " before this time have been un- " known to all Chriſtians." And perhaps ſtill more ſtrongly a ſecond patent, in which no mention is made of any but of *John* Cabot, granted alſo by Henry VII., on the 3rd of January, 1498, in favour of " our be- " loved John Kabotto, Venetian;" authorizing him, " to take to his " pleaſure ſix Engliſhe ſhippes, in " any porte or portes, or other place " within this our realme of England " or obeiſance; and them convey " and lede to the londe and iſles of " late found by the ſeid John, in " oure name and by our command- " ment."

Notwithſtanding this evidence, the fame of John Cabot has been obſcured by that of his ſon, who enjoys the reputation of being the firſt diſcoverer of America, and whoſe claim has been ſupported by modern

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writers. It ſeems, moreover, that he himſelf was not unwilling to claim his father's laurels, and that in his own accounts of the tranſactions in which they had both been engaged, he ſtudiouſly avoided aſſigning to his parent the honour which was undoubtedly due to his intelligence and enterpriſe.

The following letter, which has been extracted from the diaries of Marin Sanuto, and tranſlated by Mr. Rawdon Brown, ſeems concluſive on the ſubject. A faithful tranſcript of theſe voluminous diaries exiſts in the Marcian library at Venice, containing notices from all parts of the world, commencing in the year 1496, and terminating in 1533. This gigantic repertory, which fills fifty-eight folio volumes, has preſerved ſeveral letters from "a merchant of Venice," eſtabliſhed in London, one of which was written a fortnight after the date

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of the following entry in the account of the Privy purſe expenſes of Henry VII.

" 10th Auguſt, 1497. To hym who found " the new iſle, £10."

Extract from a letter written by Lorenzo Paſqualigo, ſon of the late Meſſer Filippo, dated London, Auguſt 23rd, addreſſed to his brothers Alviſe and Franceſco Paſqualigo in Venice. Received on the 23rd of September, 1497. Vol. I. p. 573.

" THIS Venetian of ours, who went with a " ſhip from Briſtol in queſt of new iſlands, is " returned, and ſays, that 700 leagues hence he " diſcovered 'terra firma,' which is the terri- " tory of the Grand Cham. He coaſted for " 300 leagues and landed; he ſaw no human be- " ing whatſoever, but he has brought hither to " the king certain ſnares, which had been ſet to " catch game, and a needle for making nets; " he alſo found ſome felled trees, wherefore he " ſuppoſed there were inhabitants, and returned " to his ſhip in alarm.

" He was three months on the voyage it is " quite certain, and coming back he ſaw two " iſlands to ſtarboard, but would not land, time " being precious, as he was ſhort of proviſions. " The king is much pleaſed with this intelli-

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" gence. He ſays that the tides are ſlack and "do not flow as they do here.

" The king has promiſed that in the ſpring " he ſhall have ten ſhips, armed according to " his own fancy, and at his requeſt he has " conceded him all the priſoners, except ſuch " as are confined for high treaſon, to man them " with. He has alſo given him money, where- " with to amuſe himſelf till then, and he is now " at Briſtol, with his wife, who is a Venetian " woman, and with his ſons; his name is Zuan " Cabot, and they call him the great admiral. " Vaſt honour is paid him, and he dreſſes in ſilk; " and theſe Engliſh run after him like mad peo- " ple, ſo that he can enliſt as many of them as " he pleaſes, and a number of our own rogues " beſides.

" The diſcoverer of theſe places planted on " his new-found-land a large croſs, with one " flag of England and another of S. Mark, by " reaſon of his being a Venetian, ſo that our " banner has floated very far afield."

Sebaſtian himſelf has alſo been the ſubject of ſome uncertainty, and a little injuſtice. Venice and Briſtol both have conteſted the honour of giving him birth, and other navigators have diſputed his claim to the diſcovery of the variation of the needle. In the

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" Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Sci-
" ences," an. 1712, this diſcovery is attributed to a pilot of Dieppe, who wrote his account of it in 1534, whereas the French critic aſſerts that Sebaſtian Cabot was not aware of the phenomena until 1549. The following letters prove that he made, and what is more, publiſhed, his diſcovery in 1522.

The following correſpondence between the chiefs of the Council of Ten and the celebrated Cardinal Gaſpar Contarini,[1] has been preſerved, and may be ſeen in the recent archives of the Council of Ten, and amongſt

[1] Gaſpar Contarini at the commencement of his career was in the diplomatic ſervice of the Republic. He afterwards took holy orders, and was preferred to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical honours. Beccatello informs us that Meſſer Luigi Mocenigo, upon hearing the purpoſe of the accompliſhed Contarini, exclaimed in his place in the Senate :—" Theſe prieſts have " robbed us of the beſt gentleman the city " could boaſt."

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the manuſcripts of the Marcian Library.

A. D. 1522. September 27th, Venice.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Chiefs of the Ten, to Gaſpar Contarini, Venetian Ambaſſador accredited to the Emperor Charles V. (Original in the Archives at Venice.)

September 27th, 1522.

Duplicate forwarded on the ſame day.

Oratori noſtro apud Cæſaream et Catholicam Majeſtatem.

THERE arrived here the other day, a certain Hieronimo de Marin de Buſignolo, a native of Raguſa, who having preſented himſelf to the chiefs of our Council of Ten, declared he had been ſent by one SEBASTIAN CABOTTO, who ſays he is from this city of ours, and now reſident at Seville, where it ſeems he receives a ſalary from his Cæſarean and Catholic Majeſty as his "Pilot Major," for voyages of diſcovery.

On behalf of this individual, the Raguſean made the encloſed ſtatement, which although perhaps unworthy of much credit, yet by reaſon of its importance, we did not chooſe to decline ſaid Sebaſtian's offer of coming hither, to preſent himſelf before us, and explain his project in the form propoſed.

We have, therefore, permitted ſaid Hieronimo to anſwer him, as you will perceive by the

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accompanying letter; and it is our will, and together with that of the ſaid Chiefs of our Council of Ten, that you contrive with all diligence, but cautiouſly, to learn, whether the aforeſaid Sebaſtian be at the Imperial court, or expected there ſhortly, in which caſe you will ſend for him and give him the letter bearing his addreſs; the which, for prudence ſake we have tied up with another, directed to our right faithful Secretary, and that likewiſe accompanies theſe preſent. A.D. 1522. September 27th, Venice.

You will not appear to know anything about this buſineſs, unleſs he unboſoms himſelf to you; if he does, you have our full permiſſion to tell him all; and to try and elicit as much as you can concerning his project; and, ſhould it ſeem to you well grounded and feaſible, you will exhort him to come hither; as not only are we content that he ſhould do ſo in ſafety, but ſhall moreover be very glad to ſee him. Should he not be at the Court, nor expected there, and that he reſide at Seville, you will do your utmoſt to forward the letter through ſome ſafe channel, ſo that it may be ſure to reach his own hands, giving the perſon entruſted with it to underſtand, that you received it from ſome of your private correſpondents here; and of the reſult you will give advice to ſaid Chiefs of our Council of Ten.

Demum having lately received letters from our Captain General, dated Candia, the 5th inſt., with accounts of the affairs of Rhodes,

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A.D. 1522. September 27th, Venice.

we ſend you as uſual the ſummaries thereof, that you may communicate them as uſual to his Cæſarean and Catholic Majeſty; to My Lord the Grand Chancellor, and to the reverend Biſhop of Palenciæ, and others as you may think fit, &c.

LECTA UNIVERSO COLLEGIO.

JULIANUS GRADONICO. Caput Conſilii X.
ANDREAS MUDESCO. Caput Conſilii X.
DOMINICUS CAPELLO. Caput Conſilii X.

The laſt letters which we have received from you are dated the 14th inſt. to which you will perhaps receive no farther reply.

N.B. Neither the ſtatement of the Raguſean, nor the letter addreſſed by him to Sebaſtian Cabot, have been tranſcribed in the Regiſters of the Council of Ten, which, however, ſhow that on the 27th of September, the mere announcement of Sebaſtian Cabot's propoſal, obtained for its bearer a more liberal reward than was conceded by Henry VII., "*to "hym that found the New Iſle.*"

Extract from the Minutes of the Council of Ten.

1522, Die 27 Septembris.

THAT the Treaſurer of our Council of Ten

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be enjoined, from the monies of the cheſt, to give a largeſs of twenty ducats to Dom Hieronymo de Marin Raguſean, for reaſon good.

— 16
— 4
— 0 FACTUM MANDATUM.

Reply of Gaſpar Contarini, Venetian Ambaſſador at the Court of the Emperor Charles V., to a miſſive from the Chiefs of the Council of Ten, concerning Sebaſtian Cabot.

A. D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

Ser^me P. et Ex^mi Dñi.

ON the third Xmas vigil, I with due reſpect received your Serenity's letter written ſo long back as the 27th of September, whereby you acquaint me with the ſtatement made to you by Hironimo, the Raguſean, in the name of Sebaſtian Cabot; charging me, ſhould he be at the Court, to tranſmit that letter to him; and, that in the event of his giving me any opportunity, I was to diſcloſe the whole to him, and if the things propoſed by him ſeemed feaſible, I was to exhort him to come to your Serenity's feet.

In compliance with the letter aforeſaid, I had it aſcertained adroitly, whether this individual was at the Court, and hearing that he was, and where he dwelt, I ſent to ſay that my Secretary had a letter for him from a friend of his, and that if he choſe he might come to my reſidence.

The individual in queſtion, on hearing this,

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A. D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

told my ſervant who took the meſſage, that he would come; and accordingly on Xmas eve, he made his appearance, at dinner time. I withdrew with him, and conſigned the letter, which he read, his colour changing completely during its peruſal. Having finiſhed reading it he remained a ſhort while without ſaying anything, as if alarmed and doubtful; whereupon I told him that if he choſe to anſwer the letter, or wiſhed me to make any communication in the quarter from whence I had received it, I was ready to execute his commiſſion ſafely. Upon this, he took courage, and then ſaid to me: "Out of the love I bear my country, I "ſpoke heretofore to the ambaſſadors of the "moſt illuſtrious Signory in England,[2] concern- "ing theſe newly diſcovered countries, through "which I have the means of greatly benefiting "Venice; the letter in queſtion concerned this "matter, as you likewiſe are aware, but I moſt "earneſtly beſeech you to keep the thing ſecret, "as it would coſt me my life."

I then told him that I was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair, and mentioned how the Raguſean had preſented himſelf before the tribunal of their Excellencies the Chiefs; and

[2] I have been unable to diſcover any trace of converſations held with Sebaſtian Cabot, by Treviſan, Capello, Querini, Badoer, Paſqualigo, Guiſtinian, or Surian, who were the Venetian ambaſſadors in England from 1497 to 1522.

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that the moſt ſecret magiſtracy had acquainted me with everything, and forwarded that letter to me: I added, that as ſome noblemen were dining with me, it would be inconvenient for us to talk together then, but that ſhould he chooſe to return late in the evening, we might more conveniently diſcuſs the ſubject together at full length; ſo he then departed, and returned at about 5 P. M., when, being cloſeted alone in my chamber, he ſaid to me:— A.D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

"My Lord Ambaſſador! to tell you the "whole truth, I was born at Venice, but was "bred in England,[3] and then entered the ſer- "vice of their Catholic Majeſties of Spain; and "king Ferdinand made me Captain, with a "ſalary of 50,000 maravedis. Subſequently "his preſent Majeſty gave me the grade of Pi- "lot Major, with an additional ſalary of 50,000 "maravedis, and 25,000 maravedis beſides, as "'*Adjutant of the Coaſt*,' forming a total of "125,000 maravedis, equal to about 300 "ducats.

"Now it ſo happened, that when in England "ſome three years ago, unleſs I err, Cardinal "Wolſey offered me high terms if I would ſail "with an armada of his, on a voyage of diſ- "covery: the veſſels were almoſt ready, and "they had got together 30,000 ducats for their "outfit. I anſwered him, that being in the "ſervice of the king of Spain, I could not go

[3] "Io naqui a Venetia ma ſum nutrito in Engelterra."

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A D. 1522 December 31ſt, Valladolid.

" without his leave, but that if free permiſſion " were conceded to me from hence, I would " ſerve him.

" At that period, in the courſe of converſa- " tion one day with a certain friar, a Venetian, " named Sebaſtian Collona, with whom I was " on a very friendly footing, he ſaid to me, " ' Maſter Sebaſtian, you take ſuch great pains " ' to benefit foreigners, and forget your native " ' land; would it not be poſſible for Venice " ' likewiſe to derive ſome advantage from you?' " At this my heart ſmote me, and I told him " I would think about it; and ſo on returning " to him the next day, I ſaid, that I had the " means of rendering Venice a partaker of this " navigation, and of ſhowing her a paſſage " whereby ſhe would obtain great profit; which " is the truth, for I have diſcovered it. In con- " ſequence of this, as by ſerving the king of " England I could no longer benefit our coun- " try, I wrote to the Emperor by no means to " give me leave to ſerve the king of England, " as he would injure himſelf extremely; and, " that on the contrary he ſhould recall me " forthwith. Being recalled accordingly, and " on my return reſiding at Seville, I contracted " a cloſe friendſhip with this Raguſean, who " wrote the letter you delivered to me; and as " he told me he was going to Venice, I unbo- " ſomed myſelf to him, charging him to men- " tion this thing to none but the Chiefs of the

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" Ten, and he ſwore to me a ſacred oath to this " effect." I anſwered him, beſtowing great praiſe firſt of all on his patriotiſm; and then ſaid, that the Raguſean had been to their Excellencies the Chiefs, from whoſe magiſtracy I had received a letter on the ſubject, and was commiſſioned to confer with him and hear his project, and notify it to their Lordſhips, to whom he might afterwards betake himſelf in perſon. He told me in reply, that he did not intend to manifeſt his plan to any but the Chiefs of the Ten; and that he ſhould go to Venice after requeſting the Emperor's permiſſion, on the plea of recovering his mother's dowry, concerning which he ſaid he would contrive that I ſhould be ſpoken to by the Biſhop of Burgos and the Grand Chancellor, who are to urge me to write in his favour to your Serenity. I told him that if he meant to come to Venice, I approved of his aſking leave in the faſhion mentioned by him; and that in the next place, with regard to his not chooſing to acquaint me with his project, I could not compel him to ſay more than he liked, although it ſeemed to me expedient to make the following obſervation to him, namely, that in all ſchemes two things muſt be conſidered: firſt, whether any given undertaking in which a man embarks, be profitable; and ſecondly, whether it be poſſible. That with regard to the project we had been diſcuſſing, I was certain it would be profitable if it ſucceeded;

A.D 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

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A. D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

but that I felt very doubtful of its poſſibility, for that I likewiſe had applied myſelf a little to geography, and bearing in mind the poſition of Venice, I did not ſee any way of effecting this navigation, as the voyage muſt be performed either by ſhips built in Venice, or elſe by veſſels which it would be requiſite to conſtruct elſewhere. Venetian-built craft muſt neceſſarily paſs the gut of Gibraltar to get into the ocean, and as the king of Portugal and the king of Spain would oppoſe the project, it never could by any poſſibility ſucceed. The conſtruction of veſſels out of Venice could only be effected on the ſouthern ſhores of the ocean, or in the Red Sea, to which there were endleſs objections: firſt of all it would be requiſite to have a good underſtanding with the Great Turk; ſecondly, the ſcarcity of timber rendered ſhip-building impoſſible there. Then again, even if veſſels were built, the fortreſſes and fleets of Portugal would prevent the trade from being carried on. I alſo obſerved to him that I did not ſee how veſſels could be built on the northern ſhores of the ocean, that is to ſay, from Spain to Denmark, and even beyond, eſpecially as the whole of Germany depended on the Emperor; nor could I in the next place perceive, any way at all for conveying merchandize from Venice to theſe ſhips, nor ſpices and other produce from the ſhips to Venice; nevertheleſs, as he was ſkilled in this matter, I ſaid I deferred to him.

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He anſwered me: "You have ſpoken ably; "and in truth, neither with ſhips built at "Venice, nor yet by the way of the Red Sea, "do I perceive any mode ſoever; but there "are other means, not merely poſſible but "eaſy, both for building ſhips and conveying "wares from Venice to the harbour, as alſo "ſpices, gold, and other produce from the "harbour to Venice; as I know, for I have "ſailed to all thoſe countries, and am well ac- "quainted with the whole; indeed, I will tell "you, that I would not accept the offer of the "king of England, for the ſake of benefiting "my country, as had I liſtened to that propoſal "there would no longer have been any courſe "for Venice." A.D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

I ſhrugged up my ſhoulders, and although the thing ſeems to me impoſſible, I nevertheleſs would not diſſuade him from coming to the feet of your Highneſs, (without, however, recommending him,) becauſe poſſibility is much more unlimited than man often imagines; added to which this individual is in great repute here, and for the moment he left me thus.

Subſequently, on the evening of St. John's Day,[4] he came to me in order that I might modify certain expreſſions in the Raguſean's letter, which he was apprehenſive would make the Spaniards ſuſpicious; ſo it was remodelled

[4] Namely, the 27th of December, the feſtival of St. John the Evangeliſt.

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A. D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

and written out again by a Veroneſe, an intimate of mine.

When diſcuſſing a variety of geographical topics with me, he mentioned amongſt other things, a very fine mode obſerved by him, nor ever previouſly remarked by any one, for aſcertaining by the needle the diſtance between two places from eaſt to weſt; as your Serenity may hear from himſelf if he comes.[5]

After this, continuing my converſation with him concerning our chief matter, and adroitly recapitulating the difficulties, he ſaid to me: "And I tell you, that the way and the means "are eaſy; I will go to Venice at my own coſt; "they ſhall hear me, and if they diſapprove of "the project deviſed by me, I will return in "like manner at my own coſt."

He then urged me to keep the thing ſecret; and thus I executed my commiſſion. Your

[5] Compare this with what is ſaid about Sebaſtian Cabot's diſcovery concerning the variation of the needle, at p. 29 and 30 of "The Memoir of Sebaſtian Cabot." I think it may be inferred, that in December, 1522, Cabot had only RECENTLY aſcertained the fact here alluded to. Zurla ſays, that Tiraboſchi is of opinion that Columbus, in his firſt voyage, performed A. D. 1492, was already aware of the variation of the needle, but in that caſe, Sebaſtian Cabot would never have ventured to claim the diſcovery as his own in the year 1522, eſpecially when converſing with ſo well informed a man as Gaſpar Contarini, who, profeſſing a certain knowledge of geography, would probably have expoſed the impoſition.

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Serenity will hear him, and in your wiſdom form ſuch opinion as you may think fit. A. D. 1522. December 31ſt, Valladolid.

Valliſoleti Die ult^mo Decembris 1522.

Second Letter from Gaſpar Contarini to the Chiefs of the Ten, concerning Sebaſtian Cabot. A. D. 1523. March 7th, Valladolid.

Ser^mo P. et Ex^mi Dni,

THAT Sebaſtian Cabot, with whom your Excellency deſired me to ſpeak on matters connected with the ſpice trade, which command I obeyed, and notified the reſult in my letter which was diſpatched on the 10th of January, has ſubſequently been to ſee me ſeveral times, always telling me how much diſpoſed he is to come to Venice for the purpoſe of carrying into effect the operations meditated by him in favour of your Highneſs, with regard to this ſpicery buſineſs.

At length to-day having come to viſit me, he ſettled that he could not aſk leave for the preſent, leſt they ſuſpect him of intending to go to England, and that he muſt, therefore, ſerve for three months longer; on the expiration of which term, he would at any rate betake himſelf to the feet of your moſt illuſtrious Signory, praying you to be pleaſed to write him a ſecond letter in the ſame ſtyle as the former other one, urging him to come to Venice for the deſpatch of his affairs, in order that on exhibiting it here, he may the more eaſily obtain permiſſion.

I write all that he Sebaſtian has ſtated to me,

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A.D. 1523. March 7th, Valladolid.

and what he requires; your Highneſs will act as you may pleaſe.

Vallifoleti Die 7 Martij, 1523.

A.D. 1523. April 28th, Venice.

Reply of the Council of Ten to the foregoing Letter from Gaſpar Contarini.

Ser Gaſpari Contareno Oratori noſtro apud Cæſaream Majeſtatem.

We lately received your letter of the laſt day of December, addreſſed to the Chiefs of our Council of Ten, whereby we learnt the whole of the colloquy held by you with Sebaſtian Cabotto, concerning ſpicery. You undoubtedly conducted yourſelf in this matter with extreme prudence and ability, nor can we do otherwiſe than greatly commend your zeal and diligence.

There ſubſequently has reached us another letter of your's, dated the 7th of March, acquainting us with the determination of the ſaid Sebaſtian not to come hither until the expiration of three months, when he would do ſo at any rate; requeſting that a letter be written him from hence touching his private affairs, of the ſame tenor as the former one, in order that it may thereby appear neceſſary for him to quit Spain at the period aforeſaid.

We, therefore, for his ſatisfaction, had another letter drawn up, in the name of that Raguſean Hironimo de Marino, who came hither to give us the account of this buſineſs; and ſend it to you encloſed in the packet of your circumſpect Secre-

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tary, as we did the preceding one. This you will conſign to ſaid Cabotto, *remotis arbitris*, perſuading him to come hither as he promiſed you to do, becauſe we ſhall always give him good greeting; and thus will you do, giving notice thereof to the aforeſaid chiefs. A. D. 1523. April 28th, Venice.

If, on the arrival of this letter, the above-mentioned Cabotto be not then at the Court, you will forward it to his reſidence, always ſuing a ſecure and truſty conveyance, ſo that it may reach his hands; and we inform you that the ſaid Hieronymo Marino is not in Venice now, nor do we know where he is, although the letter of ſaid Hieronymo *appears* to be dated here in Venice, which we mention for your information.

ANDREAS FOSCARENUS, C. C. X.
JACOBUS MICHAEL, C. C. X.
ANDREAS FOSCULUS, C. C. X.

Letter written in the name of the Raguſean Hieronimo de Marino, to Sebaſtian Cabot, reſiding in Spain. A. D. 1523. April 28th, Venice.

Spectabili Meſſer Sebaſtiano.

SOME months ago, on arriving here in Venice, I wrote to you what I had done to diſcover where your property was. I received fair promiſes from all quarters, and was given good hope of recovering the dower of your mother and aunt, ſo that I have no doubt, had you come hither, you would already have attained your

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A. D. 1523. April 28th, Venice.

object; and therefore, out of the love I bear you, and for your own advantage and intereſt, I exhort you not to ſacrifice yourſelf, but betake yourſelf here to Venice, where I doubt not but that you will obtain everything; and do not delay coming, for your aunt is very old, and ſhould ſhe die, you would then have very great difficulty in making enquiries, and recovering your property, ſo I exhort you to ſet out, as ſoon as you can. For the preſent I ſay no more, offering my conſtant ſervice.

Venetijs die 28 Aprilis, 1523,

YOUR HIERONYMO DE MARINO.

Letter III.

A. D. 1523. July 26th, Valladolid.

From Gaſpar Contarini to the Chiefs of the Ten, concerning Sebaſtian Cabot.

Ser^me^ P. et Ex^mi^ Dni.

BY the poſt from Italy as mentioned by me in the public letters, I received with my wonted reſpect, by way of Rome, your letter of the 23rd of April, acquainting me with the receipt of mine announcing what I had done with Sebaſtian Cabot. The miſſive informs me, moreover, that you are ſending a ſecond letter to him Sebaſtian, according to his requeſt, in the name of that Hieronimo, the Raguſean, which letter I found accordingly amongſt the public deſpatches.

By good fortune the ſaid Sebaſtian, who had been reſiding at Seville, returned hither two

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days after the receipt of this packet, whereupon I gave him his letter and exhorted him to go to Venice. He anſwered me that he had no other thought than this; and, that for this purpoſe was he come hither. He ſubſequently told me that he is endeavouring to obtain leave from the Imperial Councillors to betake himſelf to Venice, and likewiſe to get them to ſpeak to me in his favour. A. D. 1523. July 26th, Valladolid.

This is what he tells me. Your Serenity ſhall be acquainted with the reſult.

Valliſoleti Die 26 Julij, 1523.

Although Venice did not derive any material advantage from the abilities of either of her two ſubjects John and Sebaſtian Cabot, ſhe long continued to cheriſh their renown, and even to this day, in the Sala della Scudo, in the Ducal palace, there is a full length portrait of Sebaſtian Cabot, copied apparently from a picture attributed to Holbein.

This copy was painted in the year 1763, and the inſcription beneath it runs thus:—

" Henricus VII. Angliæ Rex Joannem Ca-

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" botam et Sebaſtianum Filium Aſtronomiæ
" Reig nauticæ Peretiſſimos anno 1496 navar-
" chos inſtituit ſuis Litteris qui viam invenerent
" quam animo agitabant ad Indos Orientales
" Curſu per Hyperboreum Inſtituto. Hæ ſpe
" amiſſa ea tamen navigatore Terra nova de-
" tecta et Floridæ promontorium.

Communicated by

EDWARD CHENEY.

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NOTICES of the EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH, IN 1555 AND 1556;

Selected from the Despatches of FEDERIGO BADOER, Ambassador from the Republic of Venice to the Court of Bruxelles.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the publication of my *Cloiſter Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth* (ſm. 8° London, 1852), of M. Pichot's *Charles-Quint, Chronique de ſa vie intérieur*, &c. (8° Paris, 1854), and of M. Mignet's *Charles-Quint, ſon abdication, ſon ſejour et ſa mort au monaſtère de Yuſte*, (8° Paris, 1854), the ſubject may be ſaid to have been exhauſted by the publication of the original materials of theſe works, and various other intereſting papers in M. Gachard's *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint* (3 vol. 8° Bruxelles, 1854-5). The cloſing ſcenes of the eventful life which ended in 1558 at Yuſte may now be traced almoſt as

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clearly as thoſe which were enacted in 1821 at Longwood. The introduction to M. Gachard's volumes ſupplies us with many particulars of the emperor's life in the months which preceded his abdication of the ſovereignty of the Netherlands on the 25th of October, 1555, and which intervened between that event and his embarkation for Spain on the 16th September, 1556. The following pages, illuſtrating the ſame period of time, eſpecially the latter portion of it, have been drawn from a ſource which M. Gachard does not appear to have conſulted, the archives of Venice. From the deſpatches of Federigo Badoer, Venetian Ambaſſador to Charles V., I am enabled both to confirm M. Gachard's account, and to add ſeveral particulars which had eſcaped the notice of the authorities whom he has followed. I have given entire the deſpatches of

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the 26th October, 1555, describing the first abdication, and of the 16th January, 1556, containing a minute detail of the abdication of the Spanish and Sicilian crowns, an event of which I believe no contemporary description has as yet been published. The volumes from which my extracts were made are marked: *Filza N° 1. Spagna; Bruſſelles, 1554-5; Federigo Badoer;* and *Filza N° 2. Spagna; Bruſſelles; 1555-6; Federigo Badoer et Mich. Surian.*

It only remains for me to express my thanks to my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown and to the director of the Archives for the kindness which enabled me to make these extracts, which I hope may be considered worthy of the Philobiblon Miscellany.

WILLIAM STIRLING.

KEIR, January 18, 1856.

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Notices of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, In 1555 and 1556.

ON the firſt of Auguſt, 1555, the emperor Charles V. had already taken up his abode in the park at Bruxelles, in the lodge near the Louvain gate.[1] He was in tolerable health, though liable to attacks of gout and other complaints. Although he now habitually wore a long robe, a change of attire indicating age and feebleneſs, he was able to walk about his room without a ſtick. When the

[1] He had purchaſed this houſe (or *caſino*, as Badoer calls it) in 1551, and in 1554 had repaired and improved it, previous to going to live there.—Gachard; *Retraite et Morte; Introduction*; p. 78, 79.

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weather was fine he rode out in the park on a ſhe-mule; and by way of trying his ſtrength, he even ventured upon his favourite diverſion of ſhooting, in which he found that he could carry his gun tolerably well, though his ſhield was too heavy for his arm.

As ſoon as the king of England (for ſo his ſon Philip was called in right of his wife) arrived, Charles began ſeriouſly to prepare for his abdication and for his retirement to Spain. Every day he was cloſeted with his ſon, and afterwards with his ſiſter Mary, queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, Anthony Perrenot, biſhop of Arras, his chief miniſter,[2] and M. de Prat.[3] He ſent an envoy to his brother Ferdinand, king

[2] Afterwards cardinal Granvelle.

[3] Louis de Flandre, ſeigneur de Prat or Praet, deſcended from an illegitimate branch of the royal houſes of Flanders and Burgundy, counſellor and chamberlain of Charles V., governor of Flanders, knight of the golden fleece, and miniſter of finance.

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of the Romans, to inform him that he intended to leave in his hands the government of the empire, until the formalities required in the reſignation of the imperial crown could be completed. Rumour was buſy with the order of things to be eſtabliſhed under the new reign, and with the future movements of the emperor. The beſt informed obſervers anticipated the continuance, which actually took place, of the biſhop of Arras as chief of the council, but they were divided in their opinions as to Charles's probable choice of a reſidence, a matter which he ſeems purpoſely to have kept doubtful. It was taken for granted that he would continue to exerciſe much power, and the only queſtion was as to the point from which he would chooſe to watch the political game. The queen of Hungary, Arras, and De Prat, were ſuppoſed to be in favour of his remaining in the Low Countries, but, as

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the preſence of either Charles or Philip was greatly needed in Spain, the Engliſh ties of the one and the inclinations of the other led to the expectation that it would be the emperor who would repair thither. Various circumſtances concurred to ſtrengthen this expectation. Don Luis de Carvajal arrived off Zeland with a ſquadron of the Spaniſh fleet, bringing 300,000 crowns for the emperor's uſe; and don Alvaro Bazan was ſaid to be following with more veſſels. The queen of England was reported to have offered her fleet as a convoy to the emperor during his voyage, and to have propoſed to meet him herſelf at ſome point of the Engliſh coaſt. The queen of Hungary ſent a quantity of furniture and other baggage to the ſea-coaſt; and ſhe took into her ſervice ſome Spaniſh ladies, which ſhe had never done before. In October the preparations for the embarkation of

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the royal party had been openly begun; M. d'Andelot, a gentleman of the emperor's houſehold,[4] was ſent to Zeland to ſuperintend them, and they were puſhed on ſo briſkly, that it was generally believed in the imperial houſehold that the departure would take place within a month.

On the 25th October, at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the great hall of the palace of Bruxelles, the emperor abdicated the ſovereignty of the Low Countries in favour of his ſon Philip. The ceremony was thus deſcribed by Federigo Badoer, ambaſſador from the republic of Venice, in the following deſpatch.

[4] In the roll of the houſehold as it ſtood at its breaking up in June, 1556, publiſhed by M. Gachard; (*Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint*; tom. ii. p. 71;) Joan d'Andelot appears as *primer caballerizo*, or firſt equerry; George d'Andelot as one of the many *gentiles hombres de la caſa*, and Joan Bap^ta^ d'Andelot as one of a long liſt of *coſtiliers*.

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MOST SERENE PRINCE,

YESTERDAY after dinner the emperor made the ceſſion of theſe ſtates to his moſt ſerene ſon, the lords and deputies having petitioned his majeſty that they might be no longer kept waiting, on account of the great expenſe to which they were put, an expenſe of twelve hundred florins daily among them all, and becauſe there was now no hope of the coming of the deputies from Frieſland; and the emperor having formally declared that, as regarded the queſtion of precedence between Brabant and Flanders, his renunciation was to be made in Brabant ſolely for his perſonal convenience, and having aſſured them all that the king would confirm their old privileges, keeping theſe on their former footing and granting them new privileges beſides.

His majeſty came from his houſe through the park to the palace mounted on a mule, and wearing a long black dreſs, with the order of the golden fleece. Shortly before him the moſt ſerene king of England had entered on foot. The emperor took his ſeat in the great hall of the palace, having on his right hand the king, who alſo wore the fleece, and on his left queen Mary, near whom he made the duke of Savoy ſit, and then the knights of the fleece, and the lords and deputies of the provinces; all, after the duke, having their heads bare.

One of the councillors of Brabant then be-

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gan to narrate the cauſes which had led his majeſty to make this ceſſion, which were his age and his ill health, and after many obſervations in honour of their majeſties, concluded with the formal legal phraſes uſed in public acts of ceſſion and renunciation. The emperor, with a paper of notes in his hand, becauſe he could not retain firmly in his memory all that he had to ſay, recounted in their order the various actions of his life, the labours, hardſhips and dangers ſuſtained in the courſe of his journeys by ſea and land, and his enterpriſes for the defence of theſe ſtates, now united with England, and of his other realms, and for the preſervation of the empire and the benefit of religion, ſaying in each caſe by the grace of God ſo I did, or ſo it happened; adding that not feeling in himſelf the vigour which the government of ſo many ſtates required, and knowing that his ſon was capable of ſupporting weighty duties, he wiſhed to give the remainder of his own life to the ſervice of God, and cede theſe ſtates, as he had done and would do others, to the king; further informing them that it was poſſible that he might return afterwards to ſee them, and ſaying that in this renunciation he had the conſolation of knowing that he left to them a prince worthy of the true faith and devotion which they had ever ſhewn to himſelf, and to the prince, ſubjects worthy of his merits. Then turning to the king, he entreated him to cheer him by taking upon himſelf this

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charge with good will, exhorting him above all things to have a care for religion and juſtice. At theſe laſt words the king's majeſty roſe up with his cap in his hand, and kneeling before the emperor ſaid that his earneſt deſire had been that his majeſty ſhould rule theſe and all his other ſtates during the reſt of his life; but that as his majeſty had firmly reſolved otherwiſe, he for his own part, ſwore to follow out his commands to the utmoſt of his power. After which the emperor embraced him, with many tears on both ſides, which cauſed the queen and many others to weep alſo.

One of the deputies then replied in the name of the reſt, that it had been the deſire of them all that their lord ſhould grant them this grace, that, as they had lived in ſecurity under the rule of the greateſt prince that Chriſtendom had known for many ages, his majeſty would continue to reign over them during the courſe of his life; but that, as it was the will of God that they were to undergo a change, they muſt render him their thanks for giving them ſuch a ruler as the king's majeſty. After enlarging greatly in his majeſty's praiſes, he concluded by ſaying that they would obey and ſerve him heartily; and by entreating him not to leave the country, for the ſake both of his own ſervice, and their advantage.

The king, having ſaid a few words, ſpeaking, as the others had done, in French, then deſired M. d'Arras to addreſs the deputies

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in his name in a manner correſponding to his regard. Whereupon that moſt reverend lord ſaid that the king's majeſty accepted with goodwill the burden now impoſed upon him, in the hope that God would grant him his grace, and aſſured them that he would have that care for them which was due to their loyalty and to the expectations which they had conceived of him. He was likewiſe confident that henceforth they would ſhew themſelves obedient and well-diſpoſed towards his miniſters and orders; uſing ſuch words as were interpreted to mean that he deſired to be furniſhed with a ſupply of monies for the war.

The queen then ſtood up and begged for leave to ſpeak,—ſaying that if in the courſe of her government ſhe had failed in anything, it aroſe from the weakneſs of her ſex, and not from her own will,—and at ſome length, and with her uſual maſculine vigour, gave an account of her many years' adminiſtration. The deputy who had before ſpoken, having thanked and highly commended her in the name of the ſtates; the emperor at laſt in a few words gave the aſſembly leave to depart.

This morning the ſtates of Flanders and Brabant met in a hall in the queen's apartments to ſwear fidelity to the king; when his majeſty confirmed in their poſts for one year all the official perſonages. To-morrow the other ſtates are to perform the ſame ceremony.

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The archduke Ferdinand, met on the road by the duke of Savoy, and by the duke of Medina-celi (who went in the emperor's name), arrived this evening with ſixty followers, and alighted at the pavilion of his majeſty, to which he was accompanied from the city-gate by the king who had gone thither to receive him. The day before yeſterday the archduke reached Louvain, four leagues hence, and remained there until to-day.

[Here occurs a paſſage in cipher, of which the key is loſt.]

Orders have been given by his imperial majeſty for the quarter-maſters of his houſehold to ſet out for Zeland for the purpoſe of preparing the cabins in the veſſels, and of allotting them by name to the perſons who are about to accompany him to Spain. Queen Mary had fixed upon taking thither two hundred horſes, but that number ſeeming to his majeſty too great, he wiſhed, upon ſeeing the liſt, to reduce it to eighty, diminiſhing alſo the number of menial ſervants, by allowing none of his gentlemen more than one each. The ſecretary Eraſo has likewiſe been inſtructed to provide money to pay the commiſſaries who have furniſhed the proviſions; they having given notice that all the neceſſary ſtores had been laid in.

Don Luis de Avila, who is general of light cavalry and chamberlain of his imperial majeſty,

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wiſhing to follow him, has reſigned his command. The ſervants of the emperor have waited on the king to inform him that in conſequence of his majeſty's approaching departure, they have been ſummoned before the tribunals and ſeverely preſſed to pay for articles both of food and clothing which it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould provide them with during the time they had been in his ſervice; and that they were expecting with the greateſt anxiety the announcement of the donations to be made to them, in order by theſe two methods to diſcharge their debts. The king, having called the chief ſervants before him, aſked, by way of counſel, their opinion as to what ſhould be done. They adviſed that the people attached to the court ſhould at once pay a third of what was due by them, and engage to pay the remainder within two years, finding ſecurity for the payment amongſt the merchants of Antwerp, in hopes of thus quieting the creditors; upon which his majeſty committed the affair to their charge to be thus arranged, as a trial of their good diſpoſition. Commending myſelf to the grace of your ſerenity; from the 26th of October 1555.

FEDERICO BADOER, Ambaſſador.

Addreſſed,

To the moſt ſerene prince, and moſt excellent lord, the lord Franceſco Veniero by divine grace doge of Venice and my very worſhipful lord.

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On the 3rd of November M. d'-Andelot returned from Zeland to announce that the fleet was ready for the voyage, and that the emperor might ſet out whenever he pleaſed. The time of departure, however, ſtill remained uncertain. The emperor's perſonal attendants remarked, as a concluſive ſign of its near approach, that he had deprived himſelf of his moſt favourite amuſement by cauſing his clocks to be packed up, and by giving his mechanician, Gianello, (Giovanni Torriano) twelve hundred crowns and leave of abſence to viſit his friends and attend to his private affairs at Cremona, with orders to join him, by way of Genoa, in Spain.

On the 9th of November Charles had promiſed to give audience to the Venetian ambaſſador, but put him off, on account of an attack of gout. Till the cloſe of the month he was confined to his room by that diſ-order, and was chiefly in bed. His

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hands were ſo ſeverely affected that he was unable to feed himſelf, and the ſymptoms were accompanied by fever. It was ſaid that the departure would not take place before Chriſtmas. M. de Lachaulx, an old and favourite chamberlain,[5] remarked that the emperor had ceaſed to talk about it; he thought that he was alſo waiting for a remittance of 300,000 crowns from Spain; and ſome of the other ancient courtiers gave it as their opinion, from their experience of his majeſty's ways, that the ſpring was much leſs likely to find him in Caſtille than at the diet at Ratiſbon. On the other hand, M. de Rye, formerly the principal gentleman of the chamber,[6] returning to his home in Burgundy, was admitted

[5] Jean Poupet, ſeigneur of Lachaulx; one of the *ſomeliers de corps*.

[6] Badoer calls him M. de Ri; but I ſpell the name as I find it in the houſehold-roll printed by M. Gachard, t. ii. p. 71.

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to take leave of the emperor as he lay in bed, and kiſſed his hand with many tears. On the 28th of November Agoſtino Doria had an audience to aſk for the payment from the treaſury of Spain of 100,000 crowns owing to the prince Andrea Doria, for the maintenance of his gallies. Charles replied that the payment could not, for certain financial reaſons, be made in Spain, but that the intereſt, twelve per cent. ſhould forthwith be remitted to Genoa, and that the principal ſhould be paid, if the Sicilian treaſury could furniſh the amount. Doria then enquired if his majeſty was ſoon to ſet out for Spain. The emperor anſwered that the time was not yet fixed, but that he would certainly go, and that illneſs even ſhould not ſtop him, "were he to be thrown "on ſhipboard like a wool-pack."[7]

[7] "Ma che non voleva per alcuna indiſpoſi-"tione reſtar di andarvi, ſi ben doveſſe farſi

The queens' gentlemen of the chamber were alſo continuing their preparations; their majeſties had diſmiſſed their Flemiſh, German, and Hungarian ladies with preſents; and queen Mary had given up her guard of archers to the duke of Savoy, who for ſome days had been adminiſtering public buſineſs as regent of the Netherlands.

Early in December a Spaniſh gentleman arrived from Valladolid, from the regent princeſs of Brazil, with the bad news that Bugia, an important fortreſs on the coaſt of Africa, had been taken by the Moors. In his account of the event, the envoy threw the blame upon the council of Caſtille, which had provided the garriſon neither with reinforcements nor ſupplies for four months. The emperor ſhowed extreme diſpleaſure at the intelligence, and ſeemed to

" gettar in una nave, per dir la ſua propria pa-
" role, come uno ſacco di lana."

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ſuffer greater vexation from the loſs than from any other untoward event of the war. The Spaniſh courtiers alſo feared that this ſucceſs would embolden the Algerines to become ſtill more active and daring in pillaging the coaſts of Spain. On the 6th of December rumours were rife that the emperor's voyage was given up for the winter. The queen of England, who had again ſent to know when her father-in-law intended to embark, was requeſted not to ſubject herſelf to further expenſe by keeping a ſquadron ready for ſea. The ſquadron of veſſels from Holland was diſmiſſed, but not that under the orders of Carvajal, although he had repeatedly begged for leave to put to ſea, in hopes of ſtriking a blow againſt the French. On the 12th or 13th the emperor had a freſh fit of gout, and on the 18th he ſent for his miniſters and told them that he had for the preſent poſtponed his depar-

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ture for Spain, but that he desired that the papers necessary for the cession to his son of the crowns of Spain and Sicily might be prepared with all despatch, that he might execute them in Bruxelles. In their private conversation, the ministers said they hardly knew how or when these formalities could be fulfilled, as the papers to be signed, many of which were already prepared, amounted to above two thousand. Meanwhile, the queen of Hungary, weary of doing nothing, began once more to attend the council of the states of Brabant. Usually arriving first, she relapsed into her old habits of command, and would send for the duke of Savoy, as if he were merely one of the council, instead of regent. It was whispered that if the emperor did not go to Spain she would resume the government, and that she had been endeavouring to get the duke of Savoy

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appointed viceroy of Milan, on condition of his marrying her niece Chriſtina, ducheſs-dowager of Lorraine. The duke, it was ſaid, was not averſe to either part of the plan, but ſtipulated that the viceroyalty, like the niece, ſhould be ſecured to him for life. There were frequent hunting parties, which were attended by the king, the duke, and the queen of Hungary, and balls at night, of which the king was very fond, frequently going to them maſked. Upon this paſtime an Engliſh envoy, ſent by the fond Mary to enquire after the progreſs of his recovery from ſome ſlight ailment, remarked that he would take care not to tell his miſtreſs how the king went about maſking and dancing, for ſhe would hear of it with great indignation.

On the firſt day of 1556 the emperor was ſtill ſuffering and confined to bed. At Chriſtmas he had refuſed to communicate or confeſs,

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hoping ſoon to be better, and not chooſing to receive thoſe ſacred rites in bed; but on New-Year's-day he reſigned himſelf to his invalid fate, and cauſed them to be adminiſtered. He authorized the king and court, it was ſaid, to return to the uſe of ſilk, remarking that for himſelf he ſhould for the reſt of his days wear mourning for the queen his mother. The papers for the renunciation of his remaining crowns were now ready, and his inability to perfect them by his ſignature was producing much public and private inconvenience. Bruxelles was full of ſuitors from various diſtant provinces, who complained that none of the miniſters, neither the emperor's, nor the king's, would liſten to a word of their caſes. It was not until the 16th of January that Charles found himſelf equal to the ceremony of abdication, which the Venetian records in the following deſpatch.

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MOST SERENE PRINCE,

THE emperor has to-day made his renunciation of the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily to his moſt ſerene ſon, in his own chamber in the lodge. His majeſty occupied a high chair, and the king of England a lower one over againſt him. On the emperor's right hand was queen Eleanor and on his left queen Mary. Behind the king ſtood Monſieur d'Arras and about fifty lords and knights of the two courts, all with their caps in their hands.

The emperor ſpoke for nearly an hour, very feebly and as if ſuffering pain; ſaying firſt that he thanked God that he at laſt found himſelf in a condition to fulfil his obligations, to him and to his vaſſals, to make this renunciation as ſoon as poſſible; for, as regarded his ſubjects, not having the bodily ſtrength which he once had, he had moſt unwillingly left them without that careful government which they deſired, and he knew that there had been much murmuring in many quarters becauſe there had been ſo long a delay in carrying his intentions into effect; but that ſtill, in executing his determination, he would rather be blamed for ſlowneſs, than for doing anything with inconſiderate haſte. Placing his hand on his breaſt, he then ſwore that ſince his victories over the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe he had been

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thinking of making this renunciation, and that when a year and a half ago he was in the field at Renti and had determined to give battle to the king of France, he had nothing more at heart than to take order that the cheſt, containing the deeds of renunciation and other important documents, ſhould be carried to a place of ſafety; for if the battle had taken place, and he had by evil fortune loſt it, as might well have happened, ſeeing the inferiority of his force to that of the king, he muſt have been either ſlain or made priſoner; there being no hope of eſcape from one or other of theſe chances; when, had he been ſlain, his ſon would have ſucceeded, as his heir, to all his ſtates; and, if he had remained in the enemies hands, he was anxious that the king ſhould not be put to the expenſe of ranſoming him as a ſovereign, but merely as a private gentleman and his father. He next proceeded to ſay that, by his own diſpoſition, he would have been well pleaſed to have eſcaped the cares of ſovereignty, and that if the king of the Romans had not been without children for ſix years, and then had for his firſt child a daughter, he himſelf would not have taken a wife at all, but would have left him ſucceſſor to all his ſtates. Then, as when he abdicated the ſovereignty of theſe provinces, he recounted in the ſame order and one by one all the expeditions and enterprizes which he had undertaken in the courſe of his

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life, ſhowing how all of them had been prompted rather by neceſſity than by inclination, and recommended to the king his faithful and valiant vaſſals, exhorting him to do them juſtice and to honour them according to their deſerts. Laſt of all, he gave him, with his own hand, his will ſigned and ſealed, and his own gold ſeal, ſaying that this ſeal ought now to be broken ſeeing that ſince the will was made at Augſburg a long time ago, it had ſealed no other document, and he wiſhed that it might never be uſed again. Having made this renunciation abſolutely, and as if he had paſſed into a better life, he had now only to aſk the king to execute exactly the inſtructions contained in his will; and at this point he began to weep freely. The deeds of abdication of the kingdoms of Caſtille, Leon and other dependencies, and the Indies were then placed before him, and after he had ſigned them, the king roſe and went to kiſs the hand of his imperial majeſty. The deeds for the realms of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, were next brought, and after they had been ſubſcribed, the king again kiſſed his majeſty's hand. His imperial majeſty now ſpoke theſe formal words; "Nothing now re-
"mains for me to do, but to make over to you
"Sicily," which he did with peculiar preciſion, the Sicilians ſtanding by, as if to ſhow that they did not admit the claim of Aragon that Sicily was a dependency of that crown; and after the deed had received his ſignature, his hand was

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once more kiſſed by the king. His imperial majeſty now turned to the Sicilian and other gentlemen and witneſſes and told them to go and kiſs the king's hand, as their ſole liege lord, which was immediately done. He then further remarked that he had now reſerved to himſelf nothing but the empire, which he would endeavour to rule with the ſame good intentions as before; and that if it had been God's pleaſure that the people of the imperial ſtates had known him better, they might have been on better terms with him than they now were. The buſineſs of the renunciation being thus diſpatched, the emperor diſmiſſed the queens and the reſt of the aſſembly, remaining alone with the king, with whom, as I have heard privately from one of the chamberlains, his majeſty was engaged in looking over papers, apparently memorials, which he took from a ſmall box, and, after reading them through, one by one, tore up. Monſieur d'Arras, on being aſked whether the omiſſion of all mention of the ſtate of Burgundy in the renunciations implied that its ſovereignty was not renounced, ſaid that altho' the emperor had given up to the king the maſterſhip of the golden fleece, he had nevertheleſs reſerved his other rights over that province.[8]

[8] Since 1511, in virtue of a treaty concluded with France under the guarantee of the Swiſs confederation, neutrality in war had been obſerved

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Within this hour the king of Spain has deſpatched a gentleman into England, to the queen his conſort, to give her notice of the renunciation of theſe various realms, and to congratulate her, in his name, upon the many and great crowns of which ſhe may now be ſtyled queen, and of which ſhe is no leſs miſtreſs than of her own crown of England; and alſo to aſſure her, that after a viſit to Antwerp, whither he goes to-morrow, he will merely remain for a few days with the emperor and then rejoin her with all expedition.

I ſend your ſerenity the liſt of all the perſons to whom donations are allowed by the decree executed by his imperial majeſty immediately upon his renunciation. The archbiſhopric of Valencia has not been given to Monſieur d'Arras, notwithſtanding his urgent ſuit for that preferment, and for the transfer of that which

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between the Burgundian provinces belonging to the houſe of Auſtria and that part of the ancient domain of Burgundy, which had been annexed to France by Louis XI. This treaty had been renewed by Charles V. in 1555 for five years; but as he had ſtipulated only for himſelf and not for his heirs, he feared that the neutrality might not be reſpected, if he ceded the ſovereignty to Philip during the continuance of the war. The ceſſion was therefore poſtponed until peace had been made.

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he now holds to his brother the abbot of Taverni: a thing at which many people are greatly ſurprized. But I have heard ſome perſons ſay, that the biſhop of Cambray being at the point of death, Monſieur d'Arras has been told that the king will give him that biſhopric. The penſions, aſſigned to cardinals and other perſons at Rome depending on the Spaniſh king, have not been particularly notified to their agents, it being the king's wiſh that the firſt news of them ſhould be given by his ambaſſador at Rome. To Signor Gio. Batt. Gaſtaldo has been granted, according to his requeſt, the company of fifty men at arms which formerly belonged to the marqueſs of Marignano. I commend myſelf to the grace of your ſerenity; from Bruxelles the xvi of January MD.LV.

FEDERICO BADOER, Ambaſſador.

Addreſſed
To the moſt ſerene prince and moſt excellent lord, the lord Franceſco Veniero by divine grace doge of Venice, and my very worſhipful lord.

Negotiations were ſoon afterwards opened at Cambray for peace, or at leaſt a ceſſation of hoſtilities,

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between the crowns of France and Spain. At the end of January or the beginning of February a truce for five years was concluded at the abbey of Vaucelles. King Philip ſoon afterwards rewarded the ſervices of his favourite, Ruy Gomez de Silva, at the diplomatic conferences, by beſtowing on him the eſtate of Eboli, near Salerno, worth 3,000 ducats a year, from which he eventually took the title of prince. At the end of February ſome twenty gentlemen of the imperial houſehold aſked and obtained leave to retire, and returned home to Spain, ſome through France and others by ſea. The oldeſt and moſt conſiderable of theſe retiring attendants was Don Luis de Avila, who had been about the emperor from his youth, and who had not only been a conſtant companion in arms but the hiſtorian of his campaigns in Germany in 1546 and 1547.

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He was ſuppoſed to retire in diſguſt at receiving no promotion, and at being paſſed over in two ſeparate creations of councillors of Caſtille.

On the 14th of March the truce was proclaimed with drum and trumpet, the roar of cannon, and the chiming of bells in Bruxelles, Antwerp, and all the chief towns of the Netherlands. The ambaſſadors of Henry II. of France, the admiral de Coligny and other magnates, arrived at Bruxelles on the 25th, and were graciouſly received by the king on the following day. The emperor being confined to bed by gout, and unable to receive them, his excuſes were conveyed to them by the biſhop of Arras. On the following Sunday, Palm Sunday, after performing maſs, Arras adminiſtered the oath on the crucifix, by which king Philip, and the ambaſſadors, in the name of their maſter, ſwore to maintain the truce

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of Vaucelles. When this ceremony was over, Coligny and his companions waited upon the emperor, and had a gracious reception and a long interview,[9] in which he alſo ſwore to obſerve the treaty.

On the afternoon of the 31ſt of March, the Venetian ambaſſador had an audience of Charles, to offer the congratulations of the doge and ſignory on the ratification of the truce. "I found him," he wrote, "in very "good bodily health, and more cheer-"ful in his eyes and movements than "I had ever ſeen him before." The ambaſſador then delivered himſelf of a long addreſs full of compliments upon the occaſion and upon the prudence with which king Philip

[9] Of this interview a minute account is given by Ribier; *Lettres et Memoires d'etat ſous les regnes de Francois I. Henry II. &c.* 2 vol. fol. Paris, 1677. *Voyage du M. Amiral*, ii. p. 633, which I have uſed in the *Cloiſter Life of Charles V.* (3rd ed.), ch. i. pp. 14, 15.

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had begun to reign over the ſtates reſigned by his majeſty by concluding negotiations which were likely to be ſo beneficial to Chriſtendom. The emperor replied in a ſpeech hardly leſs formal and elaborate. "Ambaſſador," he ſaid, "I have ſo "often had opportunities of recog- "nizing the good feeling of the ſig- "nory towards me, that it is hardly "neceſſary to repeat that I recognize "it now, and to aſſure you that it "ſhall be my conſtant endeavour to "maintain and ſtrengthen between "the ſignory and the king my ſon "the good underſtanding and friend- "ſhip which I myſelf have enjoyed. "As to my renunciation of power, "I made that of my own free will, "and in purſuance of a long che- "riſhed deſire, and I am well pleaſed "with it; for I am enfeebled both "by age and illneſs, and it was time "that my ſon ſhould no longer poſt-

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" pone the cares of government. I " was never at any time ſolicitous to " bear theſe burdens, and to this ſtep " I have been long looking forward. " Men may now ſee how far that " has been true which has been ſaid " by many, that I wiſhed to make " myſelf monarch of the world. " Such a thought, I aſſure you, never " came into my mind, nor would it, " had the thing been attainable even " by words inſtead of deeds." He then held up his hands crippled by gout, and, after a pauſe, proceeded: " Now I have no thought but how " to paſs my remnant of life as free " from care and pain as I can; and " I deſire to retire ſomewhither, " where I may finiſh it in the ſervice " of God." The ambaſſador then took his leave, thanking the emperor for granting him ſo long an audience, congratulating him on his peaceful and Chriſtian frame of mind, and

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hoping that his life might be long and tranquil as it had hitherto been glorious. "I did not trouble him," he adds, "with the news that had "reached me of the fleet now fitting "out at Conſtantinople, nor about "the galleys of our merchants wrong-"fully detained in Sicily," (a matter of warm and tedious diplomatic diſpute between the Venetian and imperial governments,) "knowing that "it would only annoy him, becauſe "he has given out that he will not "be ſpoken to about affairs of buſi-"neſs any more."

In April an Engliſh envoy, Paget,[10] arrived at Bruxelles, charged with a miſſion by queen Mary, of which the real object was to diſcover when Philip intended to come back to her longing arms. The emperor received him

[10] Badoer calls him *il ſignor* Paget. It was probably ſir Henry Paget, K.B. who became 2nd lord Paget in 1566, and died in 1578.

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on the 19th, with his uſual courteſy. Paget informed him of his miſtreſs's anxiety for the king's return; and in her majeſty's name begged for his good offices towards that end, and alſo for his advice as to the ſettlement of her religious difficulties, "the examples of the "perſons put to death not having "had the hoped-for effect, of bring-"ing the people back to the Catho-"lic faith." On the latter intereſting point, the emperor's reply was not reported to the Venetian ambaſſador; but as regarded the king, he ſaid that he could not go to England until he had ſeen his couſin Maximilian, king of Bohemia, who was expected in May. Philip was meanwhile engaged in practiſing tilting, in preparation for a tournament, to be held on occaſion of Maximilian's viſit, when the knights of Bruxelles were to maintain the beauty of the

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ladies of that city againſt that of the ladies of Malines ſupported by their cavaliers.

Towards the end of April M. de Lachaulx and ſeveral other gentlemen were ſent down to Burgundy to perform in the emperor's name the renunciation of that province in the aſſembly of its ſtates.[11] They were alſo commiſſioned to take poſſeſſion of the country for the king. Lachaulx aſked for a month's leave of abſence to viſit his friends in Burgundy, but was only allowed eight days.

Various cauſes combined to poſtpone, from week to week, the arrival of the king and queen of Bohemia. Maximilian was nearly concerned in negotiations pending between his father Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and his uncle the emperor as to the renunciation of

[11] See ſupra, p. 31, note.

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the imperial crown, of which Charles wiſhed to obtain the reverſion, on Ferdinand's death, for his ſon Philip. Until he had ſeen his nephew, therefore, Charles would not ſet out for Spain; and he was alſo deſirous of embracing his daughter Mary, Maximilian's queen, before quitting the north for ever. Expected in May, the royal pair did not arrive in the Netherlands until after the middle of July. The preparations for the voyage of the emperor and the queens his ſiſters, had been reſumed in earneſt, in April; the liſt of their perſonal attendants was being made up; and by the middle of May, the Biſcayan ſhip "Eſpiritu Santo" was lying off Zuitburg, nearly ready for the reception of her imperial paſſengers. From week to week the embarkation was put off, becauſe the king and queen of Bohemia were detained in Germany.

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Meanwhile the ſunſhine diffuſed over the court of Bruxelles by the pacific ceremonial of Palm Sunday had been greatly overcaſt. Within a month of the exchange of ratifications, the French king's fidelity to the truce had fallen under grave ſuſpicion. Complaints of aggreſſion from France were made by various commanders of poſts on the Flemiſh frontier. There were bad news from Africa. From Oran, the count of Alcaudete wrote that the Moors were preſſing him hard, and that he was in great want of men and munitions; but that, if needs were, he and his five ſons would die in the place. A galley carrying five hundred men to his aid, was attacked and taken at ſea by the Algerine rovers. The gold of the moſt Chriſtian king was ſuſpected to be at the bottom of this Moſlem activity on both elements. The regent of Spain directly charged

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the French fleet with the capture of a plate ſhip off the Canaries. In June the plague broke out at Bruxelles; and two perſons died cloſe to the emperor's retreat, one of them an aſſiſtant in the ſhop of his apothecary. Somewhat alarmed, Charles ordered his door towards the ſtreet to be faſtened up, and that leading to the park alone to be uſed; and he enjoined the king to diſcontinue his public audiences.[12]

Early in July the quartermaſter of the king of Bohemia, the count of Salms, and the prepoſitor of Trent,[13] arrived at Bruxelles; and on the 16th

[12] On the 29th of June Charles thought it adviſable to quit Bruxelles for the caſtle of Sterrebeke, a few miles off, where he remained until the 15th of July. Gachard, *Introduction*, pp. 129—131. In my *Cloiſter Life of Emp. Charles V.* I have fallen into the miſtake, which appears to have originated in Vandeneſſe's MS. Journal, of ſaying that he retired to Grimberghen.

[13] *Il Prepoſito di Trento.*

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Maximilian and his queen were met near Louvain by king Philip. Next day at noon they made their entry into Bruxelles, eſcorted by 2000 horſe, and received at the gates, according to the cuſtom of the town, by a number of men bearing lighted torches. On reaching the palace, they found the queens of France and Hungary and the ducheſs of Lorraine waiting for them at the foot of the ſtaircaſe. After dinner they croſſed the park to the emperor's lodge, accompanied by the king of Spain. Charles received them with conſiderable ceremony and ſome ſtiffneſs in a room on the ground floor. He firſt embraced Maximilian, and then his daughter Mary, taking off his cap, and ſitting with it in his hand during the converſation which enſued. Next day they had another long interview with him. On ſeveral following days, Mary ſaw

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her father alone for ſeveral hours at a time. No official account of the ſubject of the conference was promulgated. The Spaniſh courtiers and politicians aſſerted that the king and queen of Bohemia had come to diſcuſs a project which the emperor had greatly at heart. He wiſhed his brother Ferdinand either at once to give up the imperial ſucceſſion to his ſon Maximilian, and to conſent to Philip's election as king of the Romans; or to aſcend the throne himſelf and allow Philip to enjoy the ſecond dignity, it being underſtood that on Philip's becoming emperor, the crown of the Romans and the reverſion of the empire ſhould belong to Maximilian. As an inducement to this arrangement, Charles and Philip were ſaid to be willing to exchange the rich Belgian provinces for thoſe of Tyrol and Carinthia. On the other hand, the prepoſitor of

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Trent, the confidential adviſer of Maximilian, aſſured the Venetian ambaſſador that his maſter had not undertaken this journey of his own free will, but only becauſe he had been informed that his uncle the emperor was diſpleaſed with him. He hoped that there was no cauſe of offence that might not eaſily be explained; but he was alſo ſure that, in the face of the preſent unſettled aſpect of public affairs, and of the menacing union of the king of France and the pope, neither the king of the Romans nor his ſon would make any propoſal for a change in the natural order of the ſucceſſion or in the diſtribution of the territories of the houſe of Auſtria.

The plague had now happily diſappeared; but the people of Bruxelles complained loudly of the exceſſive price of proviſions and all articles of daily neceſſity, occaſioned

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by the preſence of ſix crowned heads in the town. On the 20th, the queen of Hungary gave a grand banquet in the park; and the day after another was given in the ſame place by the king of Spain. Tournaments were held on the 25th and 26th. Amongſt the gueſts at theſe feſtivities was the earl of Arundel, a new envoy from England, ſent, on the old errand, to entreat Philip to return to his diſconſolate queen.

While the combined courts feaſted and danced, and jouſted, the aſpect of public affairs at home and abroad grew every day more grave. The ſtates of Brabant, which had now been ſitting for ſome time, were far more intent on expounding their grievances than on granting ſupplies. Neither the blandiſhments of the duke of Savoy, nor the ſagacity of the biſhop of Arras, nor even the practiſed ſkill of queen Mary herſelf, brought to bear

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upon them as a laſt reſource, could induce them to vote any money. The nobles of Spain and the Netherlands, with crowned heads for their leaders, were breaking their lances in the ſplendid tilt-yard, when news came that a French captain with 600 men and ſeveral pieces of cannon had attacked and nearly demoliſhed two walled towns on the borders of Luxemburg. The council of ſtate immediately aſſembled at the emperor's lodge. A regiment of foot and ſome ſquadrons of horſe were ordered to march; and the ordnance department at Malines was required to provide artillery reinforcements for ſeveral frontier places of ſtrength. The duke of Savoy demanded explanations from the French ambaſſador, who pretended that no breach of the truce had been committed by his maſter's troops, but that the outrage complained of had

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ariſen out of an old diſpute between two border towns. Meanwhile the ambaſſador himſelf was jealouſly watching the military forces of the Netherlands, and had deſpatched a ſecret emiſſary to obſerve the fleet at Zeland. On learning that it conſiſted of thirty-two ſail, he replied to Ruy Gomez, who ſome days later complained of the activity which prevailed in the neighbouring garriſon towns of France, that his maſter had equal reaſon to complain of ſo great a naval force kept together on ſo ſlight a pretext as the emperor's voyage, a voyage, which he ventured to ſay would never take place. Every courier from the ſouth brought freſh proofs of the hoſtility of the pope to the king of Spain; and it was obvious that the truce for five years would hardly laſt for five months.

But notwithſtanding the incredulity of the French ambaſſador, the

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emperor had now reſolved to delay his departure no longer. The king of Bohemia returned to Germany early in Auguſt, remarking to the nuncio before he went that although the world gave him credit for having come on ſome great political errand, nothing had been done that might not have been done in his abſence. On the 9th of Auguſt Charles ſet out for Ghent at three in the afternoon. During the morning of that day he received his natural uncle the biſhop of Liege,[14] the other biſhops, and various conſiderable people of Flanders, who came to take their leave. As they quitted the lodge, ſeveral of theſe perſonages were ob-

[14] George of Auſtria, natural ſon of the emperor Maximilian I. From the biſhopric of Brixen in the Tyrol he was raiſed to the archiepiſcopal throne of Valencia in Spain, in 1538, but reſigned it in 1544, on being choſen prince-biſhop of Liege. He died on the 4th May, 1557, aged 52 years.

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ſerved to ſhed tears. Charles himſelf betrayed no emotion, until he paſſed out of the town gates. Then he too was ſeen to weep, turning round ſeveral times as he went along to look back upon the familiar walls which he was leaving behind for ever. The king rode for a league beſide the litter, before he left his father with his attendants and an eſcort of two hundred mounted archers of the guard. The queens of France and Hungary followed in two days; and later in the month the king and the foreign miniſters alſo repaired to Ghent.

On the 27th of Auguſt the ambaſſadors were ſummoned to take leave of the emperor. He received moſt of them alone, the envoy of Sienna going in firſt, the Florentine next, thirdly the nuncio, and fourthly the Venetian. The repreſentatives of Mantua and Ferrara were admitted

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together, and laſt of all came the ambaſſador of Portugal. The envoys of France and England do not appear to have been preſent. Charles told them that he was to ſet out next day for Zeland, and that with the firſt favourable wind he would ſail for Spain, where he hoped to ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and the ſervice of God. He was very gracious to all except the nuncio, whom he had conſented to receive only at the urgent entreaty of Arras, and whom he was ſuppoſed to have treated with marked coldneſs; becauſe the churchman left his preſence with a very downcaſt air, and refuſed to tell his colleagues what had been ſaid to him.

Next day, the 28th, about the hour of veſpers, the emperor once more aſcended his litter. The deputies of the ſtates, who, to puniſh their obſtinacy, had been brought to

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Ghent to continue their deliberations, and who had voted him 25,000 crowns for his voyage, ſtood around to witneſs his departure, and knelt to kiſs his hand as he paſſed. The example was followed by the members of the council of ſtate, of whom the laſt was the great Arras himſelf, "kneeling down in the ſtreet before "his majeſty's litter, with a very "doleful countenance." The litter was at laſt put in motion, and, eſcorted by the king and the whole court, it conveyed the emperor to a palace, about a league and a half diſtant from Ghent, by the ſea-ſide. The miniſters and courtiers generally ſpoke with great regret of his departure. "No one," ſaid Ruy Gomez and Bernardino de Mendoza to the Venetian ambaſſador, "can diſcern "any reaſon for it, except his ma-"jeſty's mere will and pleaſure." Ruy Gomez even hoped that it might

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ſtill be prevented by bad weather or a fit of the gout, "for," ſaid he, "it "is a ſtep againſt the king's intereſt "and deſire, and the emperor might "juſt as well have remained in re- "tirement and apart from affairs "here, where he would have been "at hand to aſſiſt the king with ad- "vice."

After paſſing two days with his father and aunt, Philip took his leave. They parted with many tears on both ſides. The king was probably recalled to Ghent by the menacing aſpect of his relations with France and Rome. A few days after his return, the French ambaſſador ſignified to him that his maſter had heard with deep concern that the duke of Alba had received authority to commence hoſtilities againſt the pope; and that if ſuch an offence againſt God and his holineſs were committed, his moſt chriſtian ma-

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jeſty muſt conſider it a breach of the truce, and would himſelf take up arms. Philip replied that he was acting purely on the defenſive, and that the movements of Alba depended wholly on thoſe of the pontiff. Intelligence was alſo received that Anthony, duke of Vendome, or king of Navarre, as he was ſtyled in France, was raiſing troops on the Pyrenean frontier; another ſign of the ſpeedy rupture of the truce.

For the firſt two weeks of September the wind continued unfavourable. The ſhores of Zeland were thronged with merchant-veſſels waiting to ſail under the convoy of the imperial fleet. On the 5th, ſome ſymptoms of a change of wind appearing, the emperor ſent for Philip; but the wind reverting to its old quarter, the king did not obey the ſummons. On the 7th the biſhop of Arras was ſent for, and repaired

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to the coaſt. It was reported at Ghent that queen Eleanor was ill of fever; and that the emperor had ordered a freſh ſupply of biſcuit. On the 10th Charles cauſed all his baggage, except his bed and his clocks, to be put on board. On the 16th tidings reached Ghent that he had himſelf embarked at 3 o'clock that morning.[15] Thirty-ſix perſons of the houſehold were with him, including M. de Lachaulx, "Giannello of Cre-" mona, his clockmaker,"[16] and the Fleming, "Malineus, his reader."[17]

[15] The Gonzalez MS. makes the 13th the day of the emperor's embarkation. M. Gachard prefers the 15th, on the authority of an exiſting MS. account-book of counſellor Micault, a perſon who was in attendance on Charles and the queens until they left the ſoil of Flanders. The ſtatement of Badoer, notwithſtanding its preciſion, as it muſt have reſted on hearſay evidence, is perhaps leſs to be relied upon.

[16] *Cloiſter Life of the Emp. Charles V.* 3rd ed. pp. 76, 300.

[17] Id. pp. 69, 292.

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The king immediately ſet off for the coaſt, but it was doubtful whether he would arrive before the fleet ſailed. On the 19th the Eſpiritu Santo, bearing the imperial ſtandard, was ſeen off Nieuport, running before ſo fair a breeze that ſhe might hope to make Laredo in ſeven days. The well-filled ſails of the Biſcayan ſhip ſoon carried Charles V. out of ſight of the low ſhores of his native Netherlands.

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EYRE PAPERS.

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Eyre Papers.

Temp. Geo. I.

THE papers, from which the following are extracted, were thoſe of Sir Robert Eyre, who was made Solicitor General in 1708, and one of the judges of the King's Bench in 1710. He was alſo Chancellor to the Prince of Wales, and was afterwards Chief Baron, and died Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in 1735. The originals were given to my father by Sir Robert's nephew, Mr. Eyre of Exmouth, in the year 1794. The tranſactions to which they relate are only ſlightly alluded to in hiſtory. Autograph letters of George I. as

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King are of the greateſt rarity. The Britiſh Muſeum does not poſſeſs one. The letter in this collection is ſuppoſed to be the one the King wrote on the occaſion of the Prince of Wales[1] having dared to chriſten his own child without conſulting his Father. In the firſt burſt of his wrath he ordered the Prince to be put under arreſt, and then to quit the palace. The King wanted to force upon his ſon, as Godfather of the infant, the Duke of Newcaſtle, a man the Prince particularly diſliked. The Prince and his family retired to Leiceſter Houſe. The King made no ſecret of his hatred of his ſon, whom he took every occaſion to humiliate, and the Prince was as little careful to conceal his contempt for his Father, whom he was equally ready to aggravate.

[1] George II. had eight children. The child whoſe chriſtening created ſuch diſſenſion muſt have been George William, who died in infancy.

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The ſayings and doings of the two afforded great amuſement for the wits of the day.

I. Letter of George I. to the Vice-Chamberlain.

II. Letter from the Prince of Wales to the King, from the original copy in the handwriting of Sir Robert Eyre.

III. The query concerning the Prince's power to appoint his own ſervants, and the letter to the Speaker in which it was encloſed, with Counſel's opinion thereon.

IV. Counſel's opinion on the queſtion: "has the King a right by law to the cuſtody of the Prince's children, or does it belong to the Prince their father?"

V. Several papers by Dr. Pinfold a civilian, as to the "Patria Poteſtas" in the Roman law.

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VI. The anſwers given and their reaſon upon the ſame, by Mr. Baron Price, and Mr. Juſtice Eyre, to the queſtions referred to the Judges by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, at the requeſt of his Majeſty.

VII. Minute of what occurred at a Privy Council on the 1ſt of July, 1718.

VIII. Communication to the Privy Council by his Majeſty, and the anſwers given by the Judges.

I.

LE vice-chamberlain eſt chargé d'aller chez mon fils et de lui dire de ma part qu'il a à ſortir avec ſes Domeſtiques de chez moi, il eſt auſſi chargé d'aller chez la Princeſſe lui dire de ma part, que nonobſtant l'ordre donné pour mon Fils, elle peut

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reſter à S. Jaimes juſque a ce quelle ſoit aſſez bien remiſe pour pouvoir ſuivre ſon epous; vous etes de plus chargé de dire de ma part à la Princeſſe que c'eſt ma volonté que mon petit fils et mes petites Filles reſtent a S. Jaimes ou ils ſont, et qu'il ſera permis à la Princeſſe de les venir voir quand elle le ſouhaitera, et que les enfans auront la permiſſion de tems en tems de les aller voir, elle et mon Fils. Le vice-chamberlain doit dire de plus à la Princeſſe de ma part que dans la preſente ſituation de ma famille, je juge que pendant ſon ſejour à S. Jaimes elle feroit bien de ne recevoir du monde.

GEORGE R.

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II.

Copy of Letter

from the Prince to the King, from the original copy in the handwriting of Sir Robert Eyre.

SIR,

I HAVE a long time waited with the utmoſt reſignation to your Majeſty's will, and ſuffered with patience the heavy weight of your diſpleaſure, hoping that time, my ſubmiſſive behaviour, and your Majeſty's goodneſs might at laſt prevail upon you, to look upon your Son with the eyes of a tender and forgiving Father.

And I truſt that your Majeſty will rather conſtrue my ſilence under my ſufferings, as an inſtance of my dutiful ſubmiſſion to you, than believe me inſenſible of the misfortunes I la-

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bour under, or capable of falling into the leaſt contumacy or diſregard to you, even by the repeated ill ſucceſs of my former applications to your Majeſty.

The freſh mark of your Majeſty's diſpleaſure ſhewn in your late commands, touching an eſtabliſhment for the Maintenance of my Daughters, calls now upon me and makes it my indiſpenſable duty to lay the hardſhips of my caſe before your Majeſty, and I beſeech you S^r^ to believe that what I ſhall offer to your conſideration proceeds from a heart full of duty to your Majeſty, but overflowing with grief at the daily inſtances of the loſs of your royal favour and affection.

The puniſhments which I have already undergone are ſo many and ſo ſevere, that I ſhould forbear to enumerate them to your Majeſty, even in the moſt general terms, if I

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had not ſo much confidence in your goodneſs, as to hope that upon recollecting and comparing the nature and continuance of them, with the offence I was ſo unhappy to give, and the ſubmiſſion I have ſince made, you will find it as conſiſtent with honor and equity, as I am perſuaded it is agreable to the natural inclinations of your royal breaſt, to pardon and forgive inſtead of adding new weight to my affliction.

To be remov'd from your Majeſty's Palace, to be totally excluded from your Court, to be depriv'd of Guards, and all other marks of honor and diſtinction, which have always been thought neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the Prince of Wales and to ſecure his perſon, to ſee any mark of my favour a certain forfeiture of your Majeſty's, and the leaſt civility to me interpreted as a diſreſpect to you, to loſe the comfort of my children,

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and above all to be myſelf entirely baniſh'd from your royal preſence and thereby cut off from all thoſe happy means of regaining your favour, which a free acceſs to your Majeſty might have afforded me, are misfortunes under which nothing could have ſupported me, but the ſecret ſatisfaction I enjoy in preſerving my duty to your Majeſty firm and inviolable under the ſevereſt trials.

Your Majeſty has now for ſome time detained our children from us, in which we have patiently acquieſced being deſirous above all things, to avoid the appearance of any thing like a diſpute with your Majeſty, and we humbly hop'd that our ſubmiſſion in ſo tender an inſtance, would be a convincing proof of our duty, and ſoon procure us to be reſtored both to them and your Majeſty.

But inſtead of this happy event, we have the mortification to ſee by

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your Majeſty's late commands the whole care of their education taken from us as well as the comfort of their preſence, and a wound thereby given to thoſe two branches which are the tendereſt and moſt eſſential in every man's property, the education of my Children, and the diſpoſal of my Revenue.

I muſt therefore beg leave humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the care of our Children in their tender years, and the ſole power to make uſe and diſpoſe of my own property, are ineſtimable rights and privileges, given to me by the Law of Nature, and preſerved to me by the Laws of this Realm, which as I have done nothing to forfeit, I cannot depart from without becoming the moſt contemptible of Men.

And ſince what is now required of me not only entirely diſpoſſeſſeth us of our Children, but adds the

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melancholy proſpect of ſeeing this calamity perpetuated to us, I muſt with all humility and ſubmiſſion beg of your Majeſty to be excuſed from complying with it, and I heartily wiſh ſome way could be found out, to lay this caſe before your Majeſty in its full and clear light, becauſe I am perſuaded, that your love and ſtrict regard to truth and juſtice will not ſuffer your Majeſty to continue theſe hardſhips, when you ſhall be ſatisfied, that no precedents, no authority of reaſon or law can be produced to juſtify any opinion that may have been given to your Majeſty in ſupport of ſuch a claim. I have always been at a loſs to know the cauſe of your Majeſty's taking the Children from us: That no want of care, no failure, or neglect in any part of their Education, can be imputed to the Princeſs, I am confident your Majeſty will do her the juſtice to confeſs; and

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as I am ſure no undutifulneſs to your Majeſty would have ever been taught them by us, ſo I hope in God, no averſion or diſregard to their Parents will be infuſed into them by thoſe into whoſe hands your Majeſty has been adviſed to commit them.

The relation my Daughters have to the Crown of theſe realms could not, I conceive, be the motive for taking them into an appearance of your Majeſty's more immediate care and inſpection, ſince it cannot be ſuſpected, that I or the Princeſs would inſtil into them any principles of religion or government, any affections or prejudices not agreeable to the People and the laws of this Country. Had this been the motive I cannot but imagine, that a proper Education of my Son would have been the firſt care, and he not ſtill be ſuffered to remain at ſo great a diſtance.

If then the detaining of my Chil-

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dren from me is meant only as a punishment, I confess it is of itself a very severe method of expressing your Majesty's resentment: But if this is to draw along with it the consequence of taking from me so great a share of my property, as your Majesty is now pleased to demand for the maintenance of my Daughters, it will add a new hardship upon me which tho' far less grievous I cannot persuade myself to submit to.

I have hitherto, from the time your Majesty took my Children, continued to maintain and provide for them, in a manner suitable to their birth and age, and I am sure not liable to any objection, and I am still ready and desirous to do the same; but I see no reason to form any Establishment of Officers and Servants of State, or to erect a Court for my Daughters in their present circumstances.

If my Daughters were the next

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and immediate heirs to the Crown, ſome reaſonable and proper Eſtabliſhment might be thought of for them, tho' by no means neceſſary at their preſent age: but I cannot forget that I have one Son ſtill ſurviving, and I wiſh it to be not concluded from the forming this Eſtabliſhment for my Daughters, that the bringing over my Son is a remote and diſtant conſideration: altho' I am perſuaded that your Majeſty will not long delay anſwering the wiſhes and inclinations of your People, by permitting him to come into England. And when he ſhall come, what is then to be the caſe? Is another Eſtabliſhment to be formed for him, greater in proportion to his nearer relation to the Crown? and are both Eſtabliſhments to ſubſiſt together, and muſt I be compelled to bear the burthen of both out of my revenue? This indeed will be an effectual way of

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taking that property from me, which by your goodneſs I am poſſeſſed of, and by the Laws of the Land I have a right to enjoy. Or is the Eſtabliſhment of my Daughters to determine or to be reduced upon the arrival of my Son? In whatever view I look upon this matter, I can ſee nothing but confuſion, and what ſeems to me impracticable. Pardon me for it, I muſt declare myſelf infinitely concerned at the thoughts of my Daughters being thus exalted above my Son, at my expenſe, againſt my will, of being made independent of me, and ſet up almoſt in defiance of me; and I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, how far it is reaſonable, that whilſt your Majeſty is exerting your Paternal dominion over me, I am not only deprived of all authority and juriſdiction over my own Children, but my Children are to be the very means and inſtruments of puniſhing

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and afflicting their unhappy Parents. Pity the Princeſs and ſuffer her not to think, that the Children which ſhe ſhall with labour and ſorrow bring into the world, if the hand of heaven ſhall ſpare them, are immediately to be torn from her, and inſtead of comforts and bleſſings be made new occaſions of grief and affliction to her.

I will treſpaſs no longer upon your Majeſty's patience, and I humbly beg that your Majeſty will not be offended at the liberty I have taken in repreſenting to your Majeſty an affair of the laſt conſequence to me, in ſuch a light, as may convince your Majeſty of the juſtice of my cauſe, and the hardſhips I endure. I have never willingly or deſignedly offended your Majeſty, I have omitted no proper occaſions of making the moſt ample ſubmiſſions to your Majeſty, and do now again take this opportunity of

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aſſuring your Majeſty, there is nothing in reaſon or juſtice, can be expected or required of me, that I will not moſt readily comply with, and I hope your Majeſty's goodneſs will rather induce you to think of ſuch meaſures as may be a means of admitting us again in your grace and favour than to proceed againſt us with ſuch rigour and extremity. And let me with all poſſible deference and ſubmiſſion once more beſeech your Majeſty, to take theſe matters into your own royal conſideration, and not ſuffer your Son and family to be made a ſacrifice to the paſſions or ambition of deſigning men.

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III.

Copy of the Quære concerning the Prince's power to appoint his own Servants, and of the Letter to the Speaker[2] *in which it was encloſed.*

HONORED SIR,

IN obedience to your commands I have ſent you a Quære, to be corrected by the exactneſs which is always ſhewn in the ſtating of your Queſtions. I cannot think of any Lawyer ſo proper to ſend it to as the Gentleman you have named. If I ſhould I ſhall give you the trouble of another letter, and am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt humble and
moſt obedient Servt

Tueſday, R. E.
10 Decr 1717.

[2] Hon. Spencer Compton.

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HAS the King any Right or Power by the Law of the land to appoint or nominate the perſons to be employed in the Service of the Prince of Wales? Has the Crown any Prerogative in this matter? or has the Prince the choice of His own Servants, and the liberty of employing what Perſons he thinks fit to intruſt in His affairs, as all other ſubjects have? Has the Law eſtabliſhed any other Rule, or determined anything particular in the caſe of the Royal Family?

16 *Dec.* 1717. *Copy of Opinion of Counſel concerning the Prince's Servants.*

WE have conſidered this queſtion, and are humbly of opinion, that by the Laws of England, the Crown hath not any Prerogative to appoint or nominate the perſons to be employed in the ſervice of a Prince of

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Wales of full age; and conſequently, that a Prince of Wales, who is not a Minor, hath by the Laws of England, at leaſt as much Right, in the Choice of His own Servants, as any other ſubject has, and every other ſubject has certainly a clear Right to employ what perſons he thinks proper to entruſt in His Service.

ROBT. RAYMOND,
WM. PEERE WILLIAMS,
SAM. MEAD.

16. Dec. 1717.

IV.

Has the King a Right by Law to the Cuſtody of the Prince's Children? or does it belong to the Prince their Father?

I TAKE it to be ſettled beyond diſpute, that by the Law of England, the Father has the Right to the Cuſtody of his children. If there-

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fore His Majeſty has any Right to the Cuſtody of the Prince's children, it muſt be founded on ſome prerogative that gives it His Majeſty; but upon the ſtricteſt ſearch and enquiry I could make I cannot find that there is any prerogative by virtue of which the King has a Right to the cuſtody of the Prince's children—But I am humbly of opinion that his Royal Highneſs the Prince has the ſame Right to the cuſtody of his children as all other fathers have by the Law of England to the cuſtody of theirs.

ROB. RAYMOND[3].
Jan. 23, 1717.

I AM of opinion that y^e^ father by y^e^ Law of England hath y^e^ Right to y^e^ Cuſtody & y^e^ Care of y^e^ Nurture & Education of his Children 'till their

[3] Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards Lord Raymond and Lord Chief Juſtice.

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age of 14 at leaſt, which Right being founded in Nature he can't be deprived of without ſome default in him: And I conceive y^e^ Prince will have y^e^ ſame Right in this Caſe as every other Subject, ſince no mention is made in our Laws of any Prerogative y^e^ Crown hath therein.

JOHN COMYNS.[4]
23^rd^ Jan^y^ 1717.

I AM of Opinion that y^e^ Cuſtody of y^e^ Prince's Children belongs by Law to y^e^ Prince their Father and not to the King. The general Right of every Father to y^e^ Cuſtody of his Children in Ordinary caſes is undoubtedly clear, and I do not find any Judicial Determination, Authentick Record, or other Authority in Law to eſtabliſh a Prerogative in y^e^ Crown which can derogate from y^e^ Gen^l^ Law in y^e^ Inſtance in queſtion. And

[4] Sir John Comyns, afterwards Chief Baron.

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I think if there had been any ſuch Prerogative it would have been mentioned in y^e^ Stat. 12° Car. 2, c. 24, to prevent its being reſtrained by y^e^ general words of that ſtat. ſec. 8.

JA. REYNOLDS.[5]
Jan^y^ y^e^ 24^th^ 1717.

I AM of Opinion that by the Laws of this land the Cuſtody of ſuch children doth of right belong to y^e^ Father, and not to y^e^ Grandfather while y^e^ Father is living. And this Right holds as well againſt y^e^ King as againſt common perſons. And I can find no ground in our Law to diſtinguiſh in this point, y^e^ Caſe of y^e^ Prince's children from that of y^e^ children of other ſubjects.

J. WARD.
24 Jan. 1717.

I AM humbly of opinion, that by y^e^ Law of England founded upon y^e^

[5] Ja. Reynolds, afterwards Chief Baron.

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Law of Nature, every Subject has a Right to y^e^ Cuſtody of his own Children.

That y^e^ Prince of Wales, as a Subject, (tho' y^e^ greateſt) is by Law entitled to this Right.

That, that part of y^e^ Stat. of y^e^ 12 Car. 2. cap. 24. which ſays, that where any Perſon has or ſhall have any Children, ſuch Father may by Will diſpoſe of y^e^ Cuſtody of ſuch Children until 21, ſeems to be a Proof that every Subject has a right to y^e^ Cuſtody of his own Children, And that by this Stat. the Father is inveſted with a further power of tranſferring this Right to others.

And it has been often determin'd that y^e^ Father only, & not the Grandfather, is enabled by this Stat. to deviſe y^e^ Guardianſhip of his Children.

I don't know, nor can find that any Prerogative of y^e^ Crown does prevent his Royal Highneſs, having the

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like natural Right, to the Cuſtody of his Children, as all other Subjects have to the Cuſtody of theirs.

WM. PEERS WILLIAMS.
23 Jan. 1717.

I AM humbly of Opinion that by the Law of England every ſubject hath a right to the Cuſtody of his own Children, and I know of no diſtinction in the caſe of the Royal Family. Wherefore I conclude that the Cuſtody of the Prince's Children doth belong ſolely to the Prince their Father.

J. DARNALL.
25th Janʸ 1717.

THE cuſtody of Children by the Law of England does undoubtedly belong to the father.

I can find no Authority in our Books, which varies, in this reſpect, the caſe of the prince's children, from thoſe of other ſubjects. Wherefore I am humbly of opinion, that to his

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Royal Highneſs alone belongs the cuſtody of his Children.

E. JEFFREYS.
Jan^{y} 29th 1717.

I AM of opinion that the Prince hath a right by law to the cuſtody of his children, and not the King. The King, as grandfather, hath no ſuch right during the life of the Prince. The common law, confirmed by general acts of Parliament agreeable to the law of nature, has annexed the paternal right over children to the father. The King by his prerogative can have no right to the cuſtody of the Prince's children, there being no act of Parliament, or any judicial determinations, that warrant any ſuch prerogative. The prince is a ſubject, and hath a right to the laws of the land at leaſt equal to any other ſubject.

WM. BRANTHWAYT.
24th January, 1717.

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V.

Whether the Cuſtody and Education of the Grandchildren, appointing the Place of their Habitation; their Inſtructors and Servants, and the Care and Approbation of their Marriages, belongs to the Grandfather, or the Father by the Civil Law?

I AM of Opinion, that if this Queſtion was to be decided by the Civil Law, as it ſtood in Juſtinian's time, it would be requiſite to enquire, whether the Grandfather had at any time, and when, emancipated either the Son or Grandſon.

For if he had not emancipated either, but the Patria Poteſtas ſtill remained, then even the Father being ſub Patria Poteſtate, i. e. alterius, he could have no one, even his own children under his Power, and then

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conſequently all the Power would be lodged by the Roman Law in the Grandfather, and he might, if he pleaſed, appoint the Place of the Habitation of his Grandchildren, their Inſtructors and Servants, the Care and Approbation of their Marriages would belong to him.

If the Grandfather had emancipated either Son or Grandſon, that Perſon ſo emancipated would be Sui Juris; if under age, he muſt have Guardians; if above age, he might totally diſpoſe of himſelf. If the Son had only been emancipated, then the grandchildren are not Sui Juris, but are as much under the Grandfather as ever, being born in his Houſe, and under his Protection, but thoſe Children that are begot after the Emancipation, would have been in the Power of the Father, he being then the only Paterfamilias, for the Grandfather by the Emancipation hath departed from

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his Authority, and the Patria Poteſtas as to the Grandfather is diſſolved, as far as he hath gone.

I draw theſe concluſions from the 9th & 12th Titles of the firſt Book of Juſtinian's Inſtitutes.

But, I conceive, that Emancipation, or any other Method, anſwering the ſame purpoſe is not now uſed in England; and I alſo think that Patria Poteſtas in the conſtruction the Romans enjoyed it, is not uſed in England.

So that as the Laws of England, and the Civil Law now ſtand in this Realm, I am of Opinion, that the Marriage of the Son makes him Paterfamilias and the Children are under him, for both the Commodum and Incommodum will in many caſes accrue to him.

The Father ſhall pay for the Children's Clothes, Education, &c. which in the ſenſe of the Law, I call Incommodum.

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He ſhall have ſome Commodum, or Advantages from his Children.

For if the Child die, poſſeſſed of a Perſonal Eſtate, either by Legacy, Gift, or his own Acquiſition, if that Death happens, before the Child is capable of making a Will, or if the Child dies inteſtate after he is capable, the Father by the Statute of Jac. 2. f. 126, ſhall carry all that the child leaves, (if unmarried) and the Grandfather ſhall have nothing.

The Father ſhall obtain Letters of Adminiſtration, of the Goods of ſuch Child ſo dying unmarried, before the Grandfather, for the Father is next of Kin. Stat. 21. H. 8. c. 5. § 3.

If the Father thinks he may die, during his Child's minority, and makes a Will, he has power by Stat. 12. Car. 2. cap. 24. § 8. to appoint a guardian to ſuch minor, unmarried, in his Will, who ſhall take Care of the Child, and his Lands, tho' a

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ſtranger, the Grandfather yet living.

And by the Rules of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the Child, (where no Teſtamentary Guardian is appointed by the Father,) being above ſeven years of age, may chooſe what Guardian he pleaſes, & not nominate the Grandfather.

If a child is capable of Marriage, but ſtill under the Legal and Canonical Age of conſenting, i. e. full 21 years, the 100th Canon of 1603 ſays, "No children under the age of "21 years complete, ſhall contract "themſelves or marry without the "conſent of their Parents, or of their "Guardians & Governors, if their "Parents be deceaſed."

When this Caſe happens, and the Child under age prays a Licenſe from the Ordinary to marry, the Father of the Child under age, appears before the Judge, and makes Oath of his Conſent,—if the Father is dead, then

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the Mother makes oath, but I have never obſerved, that the Grandfather's conſent is required to ſuch marriage, when the Father is living.

If a Grandfather die inteſtate, the Grandſon whoſe Father or Mother is ſtill alive, ſhall not have any ſhare of y^e^ Grandfather's Perſonal Eſtate. Stat. 22. 23. Car. 2. cap. 10.

I conceive in all caſes by the Laws of Eng. in diſtributing Perſonal Eſtates, the Grandfather only comes in Loco Parentis, when there is no Father.

Q. 2. *Is the Law the ſame, in the caſe of the Royal Family, as it is in the caſe of a Subject?*

I HUMBLY conceive, after the beſt Reflection & Obſervation I have been able to make, that All Acts of Parliament, all Canons, and all the Texts of the Civil Law, are penned in Ge-

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neral Terms, without any manner of Diſtinction of Perſons, and I do not know any poſitive Law, where the Caſe put is diſtinguiſhed. But I find the Crown of England, has uſually interpoſed in the Education of the Princes and Princeſſes of the Royal Family, and this I take alſo to be the uſage of the Neighbouring Nations.

The Lords in Council, have appointed Protectors, and Governors of a King, that is a minor. K. Henry 3rd was committed to the Care of an Earl of Pembroke—King Richd 2nd had a Governor—the Duke of Somerſet was made Protector in Ed. 6ths time —and Richard D. of Glouceſter, was named by ye Lords to be Protector in Ed. ye 5ths time.

Some addreſſes have been made in Parliament to remove Governors from the Princes of ye Royal Family.

The Crown, as well as the Parliament, have interpoſed in their Mar-

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riages, the inſtances are numerous, ſome of which are noted in a paper annexed.

CHA. PINFOLD.

D^r^ Commons,
Jan^ry^ 24. 1717.

No. 2.

De Patria Poteſtate.

Inſt. lib. 1. Tit. 9. In Poteſtate noſtra ſunt Liberi noſtri, quos ex juſtis nuptiis procreavimus.

Item Legitimatione—vel Adoptione.

§ 2. Hoc Jus, quod in liberos habemus, proprium eſt civium Romanorum. Talem poteſtatem (for it was deſpotic, & continebat jus vitæ & necis) in Liberos, nulli habebant qualem nos habemus.

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Who are in our Power.

§ 3. Qui igitur ex te et Uxore tua naſcitur, in tua poteſtate eſt. Item qui filio tuo, et uxore ejus naſcitur, i.e. Nepos tuus et Neptis æque in tua poteſtate ſunt, et Pronepos et Proneptis, et deinceps cæteri.

And the reaſon is becauſe they are born in the Grandf^ns Houſe, they are all ſubject to y^e Head of y^e Family & he is the Father's Father. And it was a Maxim among the Romans: that he that is in the Power of another can have nobody in his Power.

Quibus modis Jus Patriæ Poteſtatis Solvitur. Inſt. lib. 1. Tit. 12.—Morte Patris—Mortuo vero avo Nepos et Neptis non ſunt ſui Juris, ſi Pater vivit, in poteſtate Patris ſunt. —Si vero Pater, quo tempore Avus moritur, aut jam mortuus eſt, aut per Emancipationem exiit de Poteſtate

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Patris (i. e. Avi) tunc ij (i. e. Nepotes) qui in Poteſtatem ejus cædere non poſſunt, ſui Juris ſunt.

§ 1. Deportatione.—Deportatus definit eſſe in Numero Civium—pro mortuo habeatur.

§ 2. Relegatione. Thoſe that are baniſhed. They preſerve the Patria Poteſtas.

§ 4. De Dignitate. Si militaverit Filius, ſi ſenator, vel conſul factus fuerit, remanet in poteſtate Patris.

No Dignity, but being a Patrician w^d free him. Patricii dicebantur qui eorum Senatorum Progenies erant, quos Romulus creaverat.

De Emancipatione.

§6. Emancipatione definunt Liberi in Poteſtate parentum eſſe, Duplex fuit—Antea quidem vel per Antiquam Legis Obſervationem procedebat quæ per Imaginarias Venditi-

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ones, et Intercedentes Manumiſſiones celebratur vel ex Imperiali Reſcripto.

Juſtinian brought it thus. To allow the party to go before a proper Magiſtrate, & there to emancipate his Son or Daughter—Grandſon or Granddaughter, &c.

Emancipatio hodie definiri poteſt. Actus Legitimus, quo Liberi a manu Patris, apud competentem Judicem dimittuntur.

Manumittere — Ex poteſtate dimittere —Sui Juris efficere, Emancipare—idem eſt.

Emancipare ex Imperiali Reſcripto, i. e. Imperatorio Anaſtaſio—modus abeo Introductus.—Vide Modum Cod. lib. 8. Tit. 49. leg. 6.

Vid. Calvin's Lexicon. Emancipatio—de hac Materia, multa habet.

Vid. Hottoman. in Inſtitutiones —lib. 1. Tit. 9. f. 71. Mynſinger: in Inſtitutiones—lib. 1. Tit. 9.

I am of opinion that Emancipation

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never obtained in England, nor doth our Law know anything like it. We have no Footſteps, that the Romans ever uſed it when in Poſſeſſion of Britain, tho' it is probable they did: but it diſcontinued when they left the Iſland.

CHA. PINFOLD.

Dr Commons,
Jany 23rd 1717.

No. 3.

I AM of Opinion, the verb Famulo, as uſed in Fleta, is not an old Latin word, or uſed in the Roman Authors, nor do I find it in any Civilian; but it is a mere common law word, and in Fleta, cap. 7, it means that the Parent had permitted the Son to entertain a ſeparate Family, and had allowed him wherewithal to do it.

He means it as an Inſtance of Emancipation and to illuſtrate it.

CHAS. PINFOLD.

Dr Commons,
Jany 24, 1717.

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Some Extracts from Dr. Kennett's History of England concerning the Marriages of the Royal Family.

KING HENRY 1st when his ſon was drowned, ſent for Maud his Daughter, Widow of the Empr Henry, ſettled the ſucceſſion of his Kingdom upon her in Parliament,—and to provide Heirs married her to Jeffery Plantagenet, E. of Anjou. A.D. 1116, f. 122, vol. i.

King Henry 2nd made Peace with ye K. of France, & concluded a match between his Son, the young Prince Henry, not ſeven years old, & Margaret the Eldeſt Daughter of the French King, ſcarce three years old. 1150, f. 134.

King Henry 2nd took a journey on purpoſe to Auvergne, and ſo to Mountſerrat, where he purchaſed a Match at ye Rate of 5000 Marks for his youngeſt Son John, with Alice, the 1172, f. 143.

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eldeſt Daughter of Hubert, E. of Maurienne, Piedmont, & Savoy.

1177, f. 145. This year the King of Sicily, ſent and craved to have the King's (Henry 2nd) Daughter in Marriage, & K. Henry having taken Advice of his Parliament, which he called on purpoſe, granted his requeſt.

1177, f. 145. The great Match which the King (Henry 2nd) had provided for his Son John, broke off by his death, and he was married to the Daughter of Wm E. of Glouceſter, by whom he was to have that Earldom.

1177, f. 145. The ſame year K. Hen. 2nd married Eleanor, another of his Daughters, to Alphonſo K. of Caſtile.

1177, f. 145. The Marriage between the King's Son Richard, and Alice, Daughter of the French King (who was truſted to his care and keeping) was again treated of but deferred.

1201, f. 159. King John divorced his wife, the E. of Glouceſter's Daughter, becauſe

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too near of Kin, & married Iſabel, Heireſs of the E. of Angouleſme, who was before affianced to Hugh Le Brun, by the Conſent of K. Richard 1st.

King Hen. 3rd ſent to the K. of Spain to treat of a Marriage between Prince Edward his Son, and Eleanor K. of Spain's Siſter, to which the K. of Spain conſented. 1254, f. 182.

Qu. Iſabel wife of Edw. 2d contracted her Son the Prince to Philippa the E. of Holland's Daughter. 1326, f. 229.

Ed. ye Black Prince, ſon of Ed. 3d Pr. of Wales marries (his Father living) the Counteſs of Kent, the King upon the Marriage, gave to ye Pr. of Wales, the Duchy of Acquitaine, reſerving to himſelf Homage & Fealty. 1362, f. 229.

The D. of Lancaſter, Son of Ed. 3. married twice,—King Ed. 3 his father ſtill alive. 1371, f. 231.

Edmund E. of Cambridge, Son of 1371, f. 231.

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Ed. 3 married Iſabel Daughter of K. Peter of Caſtile,—Ed. 3. alive.

1371, f. 231. Lionel D. of Clarence married Violanta D. of Milan's Daughter, his father Ed. 3rd living.

1371, f. 231. Ed. Black Prince, being ill, came out of Acquitaine, with his Wife and young Son Richard.

1402, f. 286. K. Hen. 4th having buried his Wife, married Joan de Navarre Widow of ye D. of Brittany: ſhe had three ſons, but they were left in France, under the Care & Guardianſhip of that King.

1412, f. 300. A motion made a little before for a Marriage, between the Pr. of Wales (Son of Hen. 4.) & ye French King's Daughter addreſſed to King Henry.

1443, f. 392. K. Henry 6th by advice of his Council, ſent over ſevl great Perſons to treat of a Marriage with the Count of Arminac's Daughter, and by proxy ſhe was affianced to the King,

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but the E. of Suffolk broke it off, & got the K. to marry Marg^{t} D. of Anjou's Daughter, tho' the D. of Glouceſter oppoſed it.

Sev^{l} Matches offered to K. Ed. 4. that of La. Bona Daughter of Savoy treated of with advice of Council,— but he married La. Eliz. Grey agst his Mother's Will. 1464, f. 437.

Cha. E. of Charolois, afterwards Cha. y^{e} Bold, D. of Burgundy, by Ambaſſadors entreated a Marriage with the La. Marg^{t} K. Ed. 4. his ſiſter, a motion heard with much acceptance in England, & it took place. f. 439. 1464, f. 437.

Geo. D. of Clarence, Bro^{r} of Edw. 4. married the E. of Warwick's Daughter with the King's Conſent. 1466, f. 440.

Pr. Ed. Son of H. 6. marries Anne Daughter of E. of Warwick, this managed by the Queen. 1470, f. 443.

The Ducheſs of Burgundy, to engage K. Ed. 4 to her aſſiſtance 1477, f. 474.

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agst France, offered to marry Geo. D. of Clarence, Bro^{r} to Ed. 4th— this diſliked by y^{e} King. D. of Clarence died.

1485, f. 509. K. R^{d} 3. deſigns to marry His Niece La. Eliz,—but agreed by the nobles of the E. of Richmond's party, that he ſhould marry her to unite the two houſes.

1485, f. 582. King Henry 7th married Princeſs Elizabeth.

f. 479. King Edw^{d} 4. had Three Daughters, married to ſubjects of Eng. but all after his Death.

1501, f. 628. After 7 years Treaty K. H. 7. married his ſon Pr. Arthur to Catherine Daughter of K. of Spain.

1502, f. 629. Hy Pr. of Wales, contracted to her at K. H. 7^{ths} Perſuaſion.

1502. Henry 7. married his Daughter Marg^{t} into Scotland to K. Ja. 4.

1513, f. 17, vol. 2. Mary, Daughter of Hen, 7. & Siſter of Hen. 8. contracted to Charles Pr. of Caſtile—but married to Lewis

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12. of Fr.—but 1514 King Hen. 8. ſent to her being a Widow, and deſired her not to marry without his conſent. She married D. of Suffolk without it, and ſent letters to excuſe it.

K. H. 8. offers his Daughter Mary to Francis 1st K. of France. 1526, f. 80, vol. 2.

K. H. 8. deſirous to get Mary Q. of Scots for his Son Pr. Edward. The marriage articles Signed by Commrs. but broken. 1541, f. 234.

La. Jane Grey, deſcended from H. 8's Siſter Mary, married to Ld Guildford, when K. Ed. 6 was ſick. 1553, f. 324.

Princeſs Eliz. Siſter to Ed. 6 ſought from her Bror Ed. 6 in marriage to ye King of Denmark's Eldeſt Son. She refuſed it. 1551, f. 317.

Mary Qu. of Eng. married Pr. Phillip. The Parliament conſent to it upon certain Conditions. 1554, f. 334.

Qu. Eliz. hearing of the D. of Norfolk's intended match with Mary Qu. 1569, f. 420.

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of Scots, related to y^e^ Crown of England, roundly reprimanded him for his attempting it without her knowledge, & commanded him on his allegiance, to give over thoſe Pretenſions.

1561, f. 389. La. Cath. Grey, Grand^r^ of K. H. 8^a^ Siſter Mary, related to Q. Eliz. marrying y^e^ Earl of Hertford without her conſent: ſhe impriſoned them both in the Tower, & ſet aſide the Marriage in a Court of Judicature.— Vid. A.B^p^ Parker's Life by Strype, f. 118.

1589, f. 557. K. Ja. 1. married Pr. Anne of Denmark with Qu. Eliz. liking.

1616. La. Arabella Steward, related to y^e^ Crown, at ſome diſtance, married Sir W^m^ Seymour, without conſent of K. Ja. 1. He impriſoned Sir W^m^ in the Tower, and confined her to her houſe.

1624, f. 780. The Parl^t^ adviſe K. Ja. 1. to break off the Treaty of Marriage with Spain.

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Both K. Ja. 1. and the Parliament had adviſed Cha. 1. when Pr. of Wales, to marry La. Henrietta in France. 1625, f. 4, vol. 3.

K. Cha. 2nd made a Speech to his Parlt, told them he intended to marry the Infanta of Portugal. Both Houſes approved of the Marriage. 1661, f. 230.

Ja. D. of York, Bror of Cha. 2. intending to marry the D. of Modena's Daughter, the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the King againſt it. King sd it was too late to prevent it. 1673, f. 296.

Pr. of Orange (K. Wm 3rd) ſent over Monsr Bentinck to deſire K. Chas 2d leave to court Princeſs Mary. Upon October 24, 1677, King Chas 2d declared in Council, that his Majeſty had concluded the marriage, and the King did make it. 1667, f. 358.

Vide Sr Wm Temple's Memoirs. 1683, l. 416.

King Cha. 2d, in the Gazette of July 28, 1683, declares thus: — Whitehall, July 28, His Majeſty

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having been pleaſed upon Inſtance made to him, in the name of the King of Denmark, to conſent that his Brother Pr. Geo. ſh^d come hither to make his addreſſes to Lady Anne, his Majeſty's Niece, in order to marriage, the ſame was celebrated this Evening, &c.

CHAS. PINFOLD.

D^r Commons,
Jan^y 24, 1717.

VI.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IN humble Obedience to your Majeſty's Commands, ſignifyed to your Judges by the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellour, we have taken into conſideration the following Queſtion.

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Whether the Education and Care of the Perſons of your Majeſty's Grandchildren now in England, and of Prince Frederick Eldeſt Son of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales when your Majeſty ſhall think fitt to cauſe him to come to England, and the Ordering the Place of their abode, and appointing their Governours, Governeſſes, and other Inſtructors, Attendants, and Servants, and the Care and approbation of their Marriages when grown up belong of right to your Majeſty as King of this Realm or not?

And we are humbly of Opinion, that the Education and Care of the Perſons of your Majeſty's Grandchildren, the Ordering the Place of their abode, and appointing their Governours, Governeſſes, and other Inſtructors, Attendants, and Servants, belong to the Prince their Father: But that y^e^ Care and approbation of

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their Marriages when grown up belong to your Majeſty as King of this Realm.

This, Sir, is our humble Opinion. But when we acquaint your Majeſty that the Care and approbation of the Marriages of your Grandchildren belong to your Majeſty as King of this Realm, We deſire to be underſtood, as ſpeaking of a care and approbation not excluſive of the Prince their Father: But as your Majeſty's care will be always imployed for the good of the Royal Family, and the welfare of your People; So 'tis a Duty Incumbent upon every member of the Royal Family to apply to your Majeſty, and receive your Royal approbation upon every occaſion of this kind; for we find that all Negotiations of Marriages in the Royal Family have been carryed on by the intervention of the crown; and ſuch Marriages as have been contracted

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without the Royal Conſent and approbation have been thought Contempts of the Regal Authority: But we find no inſtance where a Marriage has been treated by the Crown, for any perſon of the Royal Family, without the Conſent of the Father. And we beg to aſſure your Majeſty that there is no one expreſſion in our Law Books that Warrants any ſuch aſſertion.

As to the other part of the Queſtion, in anſwer to which we can't concur with the other Judges; 'Tis our Duty humbly to lay before your Majeſty that in our opinion, the Father hath in all caſes a right to the Cuſtody and Education of his Children, and this we take to be Clear from the General Rule of Law.

This right of the Father is ſaid in our Books to be founded Jure Naturæ, and to be annexed by Nature to the Perſon of the Father: In Caſe 7 Co. 13ᵇ.

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of younger children it never was diſputed; And in regard to the Eldeſt Son, or Daughter and heir, to whom Lands deſcended from a Collateral Anceſtor, the Right of the Father obtained even againſt the Lord; tho' his Seigneural right to the Wardſhip of his Tenant during the Minority prevailed againſt the Grandfather, and all other Anceſtors Lineal and Collateral. Littleton, Coke, and Vaughan, all agree that none can have the Cuſtody of a man's Son and Heir apparent from the Father: and in the common caſe of a tenure in Socage, even the Mother has y^e^ right of Guardianſhip, after the Death of the Father, preferrable to the Grandfather: From hence we take it to be the General Rule of Law that the Guardianſhip of the Children is a right common to every Subject of this Kingdom who is a Father, without Exception.

30 E. 3. 17.

Litt. f. 114.
33 H. 6, 55.
Co. Litt. 84.
84[1].
3 Co. 31.
Vau. 180.

Litt. f. 123.

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Upon the beſt Search we have been able to make, we can find but two Books written by Engliſh Lawyers that can Poſſibly induce a contrary opinion—Bracton and Fleta. Bracton treating de Patria Poteſtate ſays —Qui ex filio tuo et ejus uxore naſcitur i. e. Nepos tuus and Neptis æque in tua Poteſtate ſunt, et Pronepos et Proneptis, et deinceps cæteri, —and—In Poteſtate patrum ſunt Filij qui naſcuntur in Juſto et Legitimo matrimonio, idem in Nepotibus et Pronepotibus, quantum ad avos et proavos Paternos, which Fleta has alſo ſaid in almoſt the ſame words, and which both have taken from Juſtinian's Inſtitutes. This ſhews it to have been a part of the Roman Law, but it neither is, nor as we conceive, ever was a part of the Law of England: Tis well known that Bracton and Fleta wrote their Several Treatiſes upon the Plan of the Imperial

Bract. l. 1, c. 9.

Ibid. f. 4.

Fleta, l. 1, c. 6. Juſt. l. 1, tit. 9, l. 3.

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Laws, and it is well known that thoſe Laws never obtained here, through the General Averſion this Nation, always Jealous of its Libertys, had towards them, and accordingly, whereever theſe Writers differ from our Year Books and Authentick Reports, they are not allowed to be of Authority. And as to this part of the Roman Law in Particular which relates to the Patria Poteſtas, it's acknowledged by all, even by Juſtinian himſelf, that it was ſo Peculiar to the Romans, that it never obtained among any other People whatſoever — Jus autem—Poteſtatis quod in liberos habemus proprium eſt Civium Romanorum, Nulli enim ſunt homines, qui talem in liberos habeant poteſtatem,—qualem nos habemus.

Juſt. l. 1, tit. 9, l. 2.

But to give a more Particular anſwer to theſe Paſſages which are the only ones that have the leaſt appearance of Law, 'Tis Evident they can't

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be made to affect the Caſe of the Royal Family, by any other Conſtruction than what will equally affect every other Family in England.

But that from theſe Paſſages nothing can be concluded to determine the extent of the Patria Poteſtas in any family Here, is clear from the reaſon on which the Power of the Grandfather among the Romans is founded.

Now the Reaſon of the Roman Law why children ſhould be not in the Power of the Father, but of the Grandfather excluſive of the Father was, becauſe the Father himſelf was not ſui Juris, and in his own power but in Patrisfamilias ſui manu, poteſtate, mancipioque, which are the words of the Laws of the XII Tables, and it was manifeſtly abſurd that He ſhould have others in his power who was not in his own. This ſervile Condition of the Son to the Father,

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which had ordinarily no end till the Father himſelf was pleaſed by Emancipation to put an end to it, being the Sole foundation of the Grandfather's right to the Grandchildren, as to every thing elſe the Father was poſſeſſed of. When this State of the Father ceaſed, the Power of the Grandfather neceſſarily ceaſed with it, and ſo it is declared in Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, That if the Son was Emancipated and ſet free from the power of his Father, the Children begotten after ſuch Emancipation are not in the Power of the Grandfather but of the father,—Quod ſi poſt Emancipationem conceptus fuerit, patris ſui Emancipati Poteſtati Subjicitur. But not to inſiſt that by the Laws of England no Father has ſuch a power over his Children even in their Minority as the Roman Law gave, 'Tis undeniable, that with us Marriage hath the Nature of a true and proper

Juſtin. l. 1, tit. 12. ſ. 9.

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Emancipation of the Perſon of the Son, and by Conſequence, even upon the Grounds of the Roman Law, the Grandfather with us can have no right to the Children of the Son, but the Father only. If therefore nothing otherwiſe appears to diſtinguiſh the Caſe of the Royal Family there can be no foundation upon which any Prerogative can be Eſtabliſhed in the Inſtance now in Queſtion, and we humbly apprehend that the only Precedents which can be alledg'd to ſupport ſuch a Prerogative when conſidered will not be found ſufficient. The firſt in the 22 H. 3. entitled in Rymer De Alianora filia Galfridi, &c., is only a Declaration under the Great Seal That William Talbot had ſurrendred to King Hen. 3. the Caſtle of Glouceſter, et Alianoram Conſanguineam ſuam ſanam et incolumen. What can be inferr'd from hence is hard to Deter- 1 Rym. 378.

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mine, any farther than that this Alianor was in Ward to the Crown, and had been committed to the Care of Talbot who had ſurrendred her and her Eſtate ſafe again to the King.

3 Rymer, 608. The other Precedent, which is in 11 Hen. 4, is a grant of an Annual Sum of 500 Marks to the Prince of Wales for the Expence of the Maintenance of Edmund Earl of March and his Brother, ſo long as they ſhould remain in the Prince's Cuſtody, to whom they had been committed the February before.

Sandford's Gen. Hiſt. 226, 227. As to this it appears by the Hiſtory & Records of thoſe times that Roger De Mortimer their Father was killed in Ireland, 22 R. 2. and that their Mother ſoon after marryed S[r] Edmund Charlton Lord Powis and dyed 7 Hen. 4. ſo that the eldeſt Son was then in Ward to the Crown, by reaſon of his Lands held of the Crown, as were his Lordſhip's of

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Wigmore and Clare inter alia: and his Brother Roger was then an Infant of very tender age, and under the care of the King as next Relation, and it appears that he dyed very young, in which latter Caſe we humbly Conceive that the Care which the King was pleaſed to take of an Infant and Orphan ſo nearly related to him will not be a Precedent to eſtabliſh a Power in the Crown to diſpoſe of the Cuſtody of a Child while the Father is Living. If any Streſs can be laid upon Printed Hiſtory, the Caſe of Richard Son to Edward the Black Prince will be an Inſtance againſt this Power ſuppoſed to be Lodged by Law in the Grandfather; He being a Minor lived with his Father as part of his Family, and his Father appointed his Governour. Of which we have this Relation in Holingſhed, That S^r^ Simon Burlie Kinſman to D^r^ Burlie one of the In- 3 Hol. 414.

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ſtructors of Edward the Black Prince haveing been admitted among other young Gentlemen to be Schoolfellow with the Prince, He grew in ſuch Credit and favour with him, that afterwards, when his Son Richard of Bourdeaux was born, the Prince, for Special Truſt and Confidence which he had in the ſaid Simon Burlie, committed the Governance and Education of his Son Richard to him, and after the Death of the Black Prince, it appears, by two very remarkable Inſtances in our Hiſtory, that Richard continued with his Mother till the Death of his Grandfather King Edward the Third.

2 Brady, 307. 1 Kennet, 233. Rew, 274. 3 Tyrrel, 771. Walſingham, 192.

The Younger Children of Edward 4. Lived with their Mother, whoſe Wardſhip ſhe declared ſhe claimed by the advice of Learned Councel, according to the Relation given us by S^r^ Thomas Moore afterwards Lord Chancellour of England in his Hiſtory

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of thoſe times; nor was it then pretended that the King had any right to their Education, or the Care of their Perſons, and altho' the Queen was prevailed upon to part with her Son Richard Duke of York, her Daughters remained in her Cuſtody till ſhe herſelf was contented to ſend them to Court.

As to the Education of their late Majeſtys Queen Mary and Queen Anne, during their Minoritys, It does not appear to us that their uncle K. Cha. 2. appointed their Governeſſes and Servants, or any one perſon that attended them. And we are not enough acquainted with the Circumſtances of the Duke of Glouceſters Caſe to make the Proper remarks; but it ſeems to have been by agreement with the King; And we humbly conceive that the Motion in Parliament 13 Dec^{r} 1699, for an addreſs to the King to remove the then Biſhop

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of Saliſbury from being his Preceptor can be of no Weight in this matter, ſince it paſſed in the Negative.

1 Ruſh. Col. 86. 'Tis poſſible that ſomething may be inferr'd in favour of this Prerogative from that article of the Treaty ſaid to be made by King James the Firſt, concerning the Match with Spain, which related to the Nurture and Education of the Children of that Marriage: 'Tis not to the preſent Queſtion to conſider whether there ever was ſuch a Treaty as is related by Ruſhworth or not, 'tis certain that it is not to be found upon Record, the proper Evidence of all Publick Treatys. The Articles of the Treaty

1 Ruſh. Coll. 85. are ſaid in Ruſhworth to be ſtyled by the Cardinals, " Propoſitions for the Right augmentation and Weal of the Roman Catholic Religion;" and, in truth, almoſt every article is ſo Derogatory to the Supremacy of the Crown, and the Statutes made for

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the Eſtabliſhment and Security of the Church of England, that it could have carryed no ſort of Authority with it in point of Law, even tho' it had appeared in a Regular manner under the Great Seal, and not from the Reports of Hiſtorians only, nor can the Oath ſaid to be taken by Prince Charles while in Spain to intercede with his Father that the ten years of the Education of the children which ſhould be born of this Marriage with the Infanta their Mother, accorded in one of the Articles of this Treaty, might be length'ned to the Term of Twelve years as the Pope deſired, be looked upon as a Precedent to Determine what the Law of England is: The Right to the care and Education of the Children of that Marriage, had it taken effect, was not then in Diſpute, and had it been ſo, nothing can be concluded from the Voluntary Engage-

1 Ruſh. Col. 89.

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ment of the Prince in favour of a Marriage ſo much deſired by himſelf, as well as by his Father, wherein the Queſtion of this Right was never the Subject of Debate.

17 Rymer, 676. There was indeed an Article in the Treaty with France upon the Marriage of King Charles the Firſt with the Princeſs Henrietta Maria, whereby it was agreed that the Children of that Marriage ſhould be brought up with their Mother till their age of thirteen, But 'tis Evident That Treaty was made with King Charles the Firſt after his Acceſſion to the Crown and not with King James his Father. King James tis true ſent over the Earls of Carliſle and Holland to Treat of that

17 Rymer, 679. Match, but the Treaty was not Concluded till after his death, and then by Powers from King Charles the Firſt, whoſe Stipulations for the Education of his own Children could

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need no Aſſiſtance from his Prerogative.

Thus have we humbly laid before your Majeſty what we have to offer in Relation to the Books and Precedents that have fallen under our Conſideration upon this Head, which we can't think ſufficient to inferr a Prerogative in your Majeſty as King of this Realm in the Care and Education of your Majeſty's Grandchildren, during the Life, and without the Conſent of their Father, a Prerogative, as we humbly apprehend, hitherto unknown to the Laws of England.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſty's Great Wiſdom,

Ro. Price.
R. Eyre.

1 ffeb. 1717.

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VII.

THE Opinion of the Ten Judges and alſo the Opinion of the other Two Judges on a Queſtion relating to his Majeſty's right in the care and education &c. of his Grand Children—Read—

L^d^ Preſident delivered an extract thereof to be entered in the Council Books, and the originals were delivered by my L^d^ Preſident to His Majeſty.

L^d^ Preſident acquainted the Council that His Majeſty had appointed a Family for the young Princeſſes, and Counteſs of Portland Governeſs.

Preſent 1 July, 1718.

[1] L^d^ A. B^p^ of Canterbury
[2] L^d^ Chancellour

[1] Archbiſhop Wake.
[2] L^d^ Parker, afterwards E. of Macclesfield.

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[3] L[d] Preſident
[4] L[d] Chamberlain
D. of Roxburgh
E. of Berkeley
D. of Montroſe
E. of Radnor
[5] B[p] of London
[6] M[r] Vice Chamberlain
M[r] Aiſlaby
M[r] Sec[r] Craggs
M[r] Lechmere.

[3] E. of Sunderland.
[4] D. of Newcaſtle.
[5] D[r] John Robinſon.
[6] Tho[s] Coke, afterwards E. of Leiceſter.

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VIII.

At the Court at Kenſington
the 1st July, 1718.

Preſent
The Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty
in Council.

HIS Majeſty was this day pleaſed to communicate to the Lords of His Moſt Honble Privy Council, that His Royal Pleaſure had ſome time ſince been ſignified to His Judges by the late Lord Chancellor Cowper, that they ſhould give their opinions upon this queſtion.

" Whether the Education and
" Care of the perſons of His Ma-
" jeſtys Grandchildren now in Eng-
" land and of Prince Frederick eldeſt
" Son of His Royal Highneſs the

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" Prince of Wales, when His Ma-
" jeſty ſhall think fit to cauſe him
" to come to England; and the Or-
" dering the Place of their abode,
" and appointing their Governors,
" Governeſſes and other Inſtructors,
" Attendants and Servants, and the
" care and approbation of their Mar-
" riages when grown up, belong of
" Right to His Majeſty as King of
" this Realm."

And that His Majeſty having afterwards been informed that ſome of the Council of His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales expreſſed a deſire to lay before the Judges ſomething relating to the queſtion aforeſaid, had further ſignified His Royal pleaſure to His Judges, that any one ſingle perſon that ſhould apply to the ſaid Judges for that purpoſe ſhould be admitted to lay before them what ſuch perſon ſhould have to offer from his Royal High-

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neſs. And that the Judges had returned their Anſwers to the ſaid queſtion; which Anſwers His Majeſty was pleaſed to Order to be read this day in Council. And the ſame were read; Whereby it appeared that the ſaid Judges had taken the ſaid queſtion into conſideration and had heard a learned Sergeant at Law, who by command of His Royal Highneſs laid before them ſeveral things relating to the queſtion aforeſaid, and that ten of the Judges, that is to ſay, Thomas Lord Parker, now Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, then Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Kings Bench, Sir John Pratt, Knight, now Lord Chief Juſtice of the ſaid Court of Kings Bench, then one of the Juſtices of the ſaid Court, Sir Peter King K^t^, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir Thomas Bury Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer,

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Sir Littleton Powys K^t, one other of the Juſtices of the Court of Kings Bench, Sir John Blencowe K^t, Robert Tracy and Robert Dormer Eſquires, Juſtices of the ſaid Court of Common Pleas, Sir James Montague K^t, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer and Sir John Forteſcue Aland, now one of the Juſtices of the Court of Kings Bench, and then one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, were of Opinion—

" That the Education and Care " of the perſons of His Majeſtys " Grandchildren now in England and " of Prince Frederick Eldeſt Son " of His Royal Highneſs the Prince " of Wales, when His Majeſty ſhall " think fit to cauſe him to come to " England; and the ordering the place " of their abode, and appointing their " Governors, Governeſſes and other " Inſtructors, Attendants and Ser- " vants, and the care and approba-

10

" tion of their Marriages when grown
" up, belong of right to His Majeſty
" as King of this Realm."

And that Robert Price Eſquire, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer and Sir Robert Eyre Knight, one of the Juſtices of the aforeſaid Court of Kings Bench and Chancellor of His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales were of opinion.

" That the Education and Care
" of the Perſons of His Majeſty's
" Grandchildren, the ordering the
" place of their abode, and appoint-
" ing their Governors, Governeſſes
" and other Inſtructors, Attendants
" and Servants, belong to the Prince
" their Father, but that the Care
" and Approbation of their Mar-
" riages, when grown up, belong to
" His Majeſty as King of this
" Realm."

Adding " That in what concerned

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" the Marriages, they desired to be
" understood as speaking of a Care
" and approbation not exclusive of
" the Prince their Father."

H. B. RAY.

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L'Historia di Casa Orsini, di Francesco Sansovino.

Venetia, 1565.

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L'Historia di Casa Orsini, di Francesco Sansovino.

Venetia, 1565.

2 vol. folio.

Lines to Napoleone, by M. Pietro Bartoli.

IVI immortale o gran Napoleone,
Poi che l'opere tue ſono immortali.
Tu padre de' ſoldati, il buon Federigo,
Ch' i popoli domò ſoura il Metauro,
Deſtaſte col tuo nome a gloria, a honore,
Et mentre ch' amendue con l'armi illuſtri
Vi feſti, ſurſe in queſt' alma Provincia
La militia gìa ſpenta de' Romani.
Tu dee dunque non pur Bellona, e Marte,
Ma il ſommo Giove, ne' futuri tempi,
Cor ſervar immortal: dunque immortali
Vivi o Napoleon padre dell armi.

Theſe lines are not, as the reader will probably ſurmiſe, the idolatrous

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effuſion of ſome Italian admirer of Napoleon Buonaparte; they were addreſſed to a nameſake of his, quite unconnected with him, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth century, and were publiſhed by Sanſovino in that which ſucceeded.

The volume in which they are inſerted has never been reprinted, and is one of the rareſt of Sanſovino's works. Like all the performances of that rapid compiler, it is neither correct nor impartial. It contains nevertheleſs ſome intereſting details concerning the illuſtrious family of Urſini, which it would be difficult to find elſewhere.

The author, Franceſco Sanſovino, was the ſon of the celebrated architect and ſculptor, Jacopo Tatti, better known by the name of his birthplace, Sanſovino. He was born at Rome, where his father enjoyed the patronage of the reigning Pope, Leo

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X., and where they both remained till after the capture of the city by the Imperialiſts in 1527. Franceſco Sanſovino was deſtined by his father for the law, but he himſelf preferred the precarious profeſſion of literature. He ſettled at Venice, and from the printing preſſes of that city moſt of his voluminous publications iſſued.

It is not from the intrinſic merit of his hiſtory of the Orſini (though not deſtitute of it), ſo much as from the ſingularity of ſeveral paſſages, that attention is now called to its pages.

Like all biographers, Sanſovino is profuſe in the praiſe of the heroes of his tale. One of his chapters opens with high encomiums on thoſe of the family of Orſini, who have borne the conſpicuous name of Napoleon.

"Many were the Napoleons," he obſerves, "in this family; a noble "name at all times dear to Italian "ears, and borne by men illuſtrious

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" in peace and war."[1] In ſupport of this theory, he gives a liſt of thoſe who were ſo named, with a ſhort account of ſome of their principal deeds.

The greateſt of theſe was Napoleon, ſon of Charles Orſino, Count of Tagliacozzo, the rival in arms of the celebrated Federigo, Duke of Urbino. He was no leſs bold than aſtute, and was equally ſkilled in the cabinet and in the field. His opinions were given with an openneſs not common in thoſe ages. War he held to be legal and natural to man, whether undertaken for defence or aggrandiſement; for the gratification of revenge, or the love of glory; and his practice was, ever to carry the war immediately into the enemy's country, " for ſoldiers," he was wont to obſerve, " fight more zealouſly

[1] " Ma molti piu furono i Napoleoni, per- " che in tutti i tempi gli orecchi Italiani, o nella " pace, o nella guerra udiro no queſta nobiliſſima " voce in huomini Segnalati."—*Storia, Vol. II.* p. 20.

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" with the proſpect of plundering " the property of the enemy, than " of ſimply defending their own."

He was appointed by Alfonſo, king of Naples, to the command of his army; and he held the office of Gonfaloniere, or Captain-General, of the Papal forces for upwards of twenty-two years.

He embelliſhed his palace at Rome on the Monte Giordano, and his caſtle of Bracciano in the patrimony of St. Peter, with the various luxurious appendages of gardens and aqueducts; and his libraries and collections of all ſorts were the admiration of the age; but it was to his ſucceſs as a military commander that he owed the admiration of his contemporaries, and the encomiums of the poet and the biographer.

Napoleone Orſini was born in 1420, and died in 1480.

EDWARD CHENEY.

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Unpublished Letters of Laurence Sterne.

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Unpublished Letters of Laurence Sterne.

THE letters of Sterne, which his biographers have preſerved, are ſo few, that any addition to their number is welcome, more eſpecially if they throw light on the character of the man, and ſerve to illuſtrate that "Shandean" philoſophy of which he was the type.

For this reaſon I have copied and ſet in order, for the uſe of the Philobiblon Society, the following ſeries of thirteen letters, which I have found among the MSS. collected by my Father, and which appear to have been obtained by him from a lady named Weſton. The letters intro-

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duce us to a character apparently unknown to all Sterne's biographers, but intimately connected with him by a tie, of the nature of which they would appear to leave no manner of doubt.

The lady to whom they were addreſſed—Miſs Catherine de Fourmantel—(as I learn from a memorandum in the handwriting of Mrs. Weſton, who knew her,) was one of a family of French Proteſtant refugees, driven over to England in the reign of Louis XIV. They ſtyled themſelves Beranger de Fourmantel, and poſſeſſed eſtates in St. Domingo, of which they were deprived by the meaſures conſequent on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. An elder ſiſter, it appears, conformed to the Popiſh faith, returned to Paris, and was reinſtated in her family property. The younger, Catherine, at the date of this correſpondence, was

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living in York, where Sterne, as is known, held a Prebendal Stall. Few of the letters bear dates, ſo that I have been compelled to arrange them by internal evidence and caſual references and alluſions. The firſt five ſeem to have been written at York; the reſt from London to the young lady, who, by the time we arrive at No. X. would ſeem to have followed the Prebend thither, as that letter is addreſſed to her at a court in Soho.

Sterne came up to London in March, 1760, ſhortly after the publication[1] of the firſt two volumes of *Triſtram Shandy*, to enjoy the fame, flattery, and invitations to dinner which the credit of that work procured him. Theſe letters exhibit him immerſed in a whirl of diſſipation mental and bodily; intoxicated by the attentions paid him by peers,

[1] They were publiſhed at York, December, 1759.

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prelates, miniſters, courtiers, and fine ladies, and reaping moreover the ſubſtantial benefit of a preferment of 160*l.* a year from a patron (Lord Fauconberg), and a purſe of guineas from a Biſhop (Warburton).

On the ſubſequent fate of "dear dear Kitty" I fear I can throw no ſatisfactory light. Her friend Mrs. Weſton aſſerts that Miſs F. knew Sterne before his marriage; that he paid his addreſſes to her for five years, when, on a ſudden, he married another woman; that this deſertion drove her mad; that ſhe was carried over to Paris by her elder ſiſter, and died in a madhouſe, but not before ſhe had been viſited by Sterne, who drew from her caſe ſome of the traits which he has thrown into the character of "Maria" of the "Sentimental Journey." In refutation of theſe ſtatements, it will ſuffice to bear in mind that Sterne was married in 1740—

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twenty years before the date of this correſpondence.

Perhaps the moſt curious letter of the whole is that which I have placed ſecond. It is in Sterne's hand, and evidently intended to be copied by Kitty, and to be addreſſed by her to ſome perſon whom hedeſired, through her, to influence in his favour.

JOHN MURRAY.

I.

Sunday.

MISS,

I SHALL be out of all humour with you, & beſides will not paint your Picture in black, which beſt becomes you, unleſs you accept of a few Bottles of Calcavillo, which I haue ordered my Man to leaue at the Dore in my Abſence;—the Reaſon of this trifleing Preſent, you ſhall know on Tueſday night, & I half inſiſt upon it, that you invent ſome plauſible Excuſe to be home by 7.

Yrs.

YORICK.

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II.

York, *Jan*^{y} 1, [1760.]

S^{r},

I DARE ſay you will wonder to receiue an Epiſtle from me, and the Subject of it will ſurpriſe you ſtill more, becauſe it is to tell you ſomething about Books.

There are two Volumes juſt publiſhed here, which haue made a great noiſe, & haue had a prodigious run; for, in two days after they came out, the Bookſeller ſold two hundred, & continues ſelling them very faſt. It is the Life & Opinions of Triſtram Shandy, which the Author told me laſt night at our Concert he had ſent up to London, ſo perhaps you have ſeen it; If you haue not ſeen it, pray get it & read it, becauſe it has a great character as a witty ſmart Book, and if you think ſo, your good word in Town will do the Author, I am ſure, great ſervice. You muſt underſtand he is a kind & generous friend of mine, whom Providence has attach'd to me in this part of the World, where I came a ſtranger—& I could not think how I could make a better return, than by endeavouring to make you a Friend to him & his performance; this is all my excuſe for this Liberty, which I hope you will excuſe. His name is

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Sterne, a Gentleman of great Preferment, & a Prebendary of the Church of York, & has a great character, in theſe parts, as a man of Learning & Wit; the Graver people, however, ſay 'tis not fit for young Ladies to read his Book, ſo perhaps you'l think it not fit for a young Lady to recommend it; howeuer the Nobility & great Folks ſtand up mightily for it, & ſay 'tis a good Book, tho' a little tawdry in ſome places.

I am, dear Sir,

Yr moſt obdt &

humble Servant.

III.

My dear Kitty,

If this Billet catches you in Bed, you are a lazy ſleepy little ſlut, and I am a giddy, fooliſh, unthinking fellow for keeping you ſo late up; but this Sabbath is a day of ſorrow—for I ſhall not ſee my dear creature, unleſs you meet me at Taylor's half an hour after twelue—but in this, do as you like. I haue ordered Matthew to turn thief and ſteal you a quart of Honey. What is Honey to the ſweetneſs of thee, who

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are ſweeter than all the Flowers it comes from. I loue you to diſtraction, Kitty, & will loue you to Eternity. So adieu! & believe what time only will prove me, that I am

Yⁿ.

IV.

Thurſday.

My dear Kitty,

I haue ſent you a Pot of Sweetmeats, and a Pot of Honey, neither of them half ſo ſweet as yourſelf; but don't be vain upon this, or preſume to grow ſour upon this character of ſweetneſs I giue you; for if you do, I ſhall ſend you a Pot of Pickles (by way of contrarys) to ſweeten you up & bring you to yourſelf again. Whateuer changes happen to you, belieue me that I am unalterably yours, & according to yʳ motto, ſuch a one, my dear Kitty,

Qui ne changera pas, que
en mourant
L. S.

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V.

My dear Kitty,

I beg you will accept of the incloſed Sermon, which I do not make you a preſent of merely becauſe it was wrote by myſelf, but becauſe there is a beautiful Character in it of a tender and compaſſionate mind in the picture giuen of[2] Elijah. Read it, my dear Kitty, and believe me when I aſſure you that I ſee ſomething of the ſame kind & gentle diſpoſition in your heart which I haue painted in the Prophet's, which has attach'd me ſo much to you & your Intereſts that I ſhall liue and dye

Your affectionate & faithful

Laurence Sterne.

P.S.—If poſſible I will ſee you this afternoon, before I go to Mr. Fothirgils. Adieu, dear Friend! I had the pleaſure to drink y^r^ health laſt night.

[2] This Sermon was preached by Sterne in 1747.

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VI.

London.

My dear Kitty,

I should be moſt unhappy myſelf, and I know you would be ſo too, if I did not write to you this poſt, tho' I have not yet heard a word from you. Let me know, my ſweet Laſs! how you go on without me, & be very particular in euery thing.

My Lodging is euery hour full of your Great People of the firſt Rank, who ſtriue who ſhall moſt honor me;—euen all the Biſhops haue ſent their Complim^ts to me, & I ſet out on Monday Morning to pay my Viſits to them all. I am to dine w^h Lord Cheſterfield this Week, &c. &c., and next Sunday L^d Rockingham takes me to Court. I haue ſnatch'd this ſingle moment, tho' there is Company in my rooms, to tell my dear, dear, dear Kitty this, & that I am hers for ever & ever.

Lau: Sterne.

VII.

My dear Kitty,

Tho' I haue but a moment's time to ſpare, I w^d not omit writing you an account of my good Fortune; my Lord Fauconberg has this day

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giuen me a[3] hundred & ſixty pounds a year, w[ch] I hold with all my preferment, ſo that all or the moſt part of my ſorrows and tears are going to be wiped away. I haue but one obſtacle to my Happineſs now left, & what that is, you know as well as I.

I long moſt impatiently to ſee my dear Kitty. Tell me, tell me what day or Week this will be. I had a purſe of Guineas giuen me yeſterday by a Biſhop;[4] all will do well in time.

From Morning to night my Lodgings, which by the by, are the genteeleſt in Town, are full of the greateſt Company. I dined theſe 2 days with 2 Ladies of the Bedchamber; then with L[d] Rockingham, L[d] Edgecomb, Lord Winchelſea, Lord Littleton, a Biſhop, &c. &c.

I aſſure you, my Kitty, that Triſtram is the Faſhion. Pray to God I may ſee my deareſt Girl ſoon & well.

Adieu!

Y[r] affectionate friend,

L. Sterne.

[3] The Living of Coxwold.
[4] Bp. Warburton.

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VIII.

London, *April* the 1*ſt*, 176[0.]

My dear Kitty,

I am truly ſorry from y^r^ Account in your Letter to find you do not leaue York till the 14^th^, becauſe it ſhortens the time I hoped to haue ſtole in your Company when you come. I am invited by Lord Rockingham to be one of his Suit when he goes to Windſor to be inſtall'd Knight of the Garter with Prince Ferdinand;[5] So that this Honor done me, will keep me hear till the 2^d^ Week in May, when I muſt go down to take poſſeſſion of my Preferment.[6] Theſe ſeparations, my dear Kitty, howeuer grievious to us both—muſt be, for the preſent. God will open a Dore when we ſhall ſometime be much more together, and enjoy our deſires without fear or Interruption. I haue 14 engagements to Dine now in my Books, with the firſt Nobility. I haue ſcarſe time to tell you how much I love you, my dear Kitty, & how much I pray to God that you may ſo liue, and ſo love me,

[5] Lord Rockingham and Prince Ferdinand were inſtalled Knights of the Garter at Windſor, May 6, 1760.
[6] Coxwold.

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as one day to ſhare in my great good fortune. My fortunes will certainly be made; but more of this when we meet. Adieu! Write, and belieue y^r^

Aff^te^ friend,

L. S.

Comp^ts^ to Mama.

IX.

London, *May*[7] 8*th*, 176[0.]

My dear Kitty,

I haue arrived here ſafe & ſound, except for the Hole in my Heart, which you haue made like a dear enchanting Slut as you are. I ſhall take Lodgings this Morning in Picadilly or the Haymarket, & before I ſeal this letter, will let you know where to direct a Letter to me, which Letter I ſhall wait for by the return of the Poſt with great impatience; ſo write, my dear Love,

[7] This date is puzzling, unleſs it be a ſlip of Sterne's pen—*May* for *March*. It is evident, from the opening ſentence, that the letter was written immediately on his arrival in town. Moreover Horace Walpole, in a letter dated April 4, 1760, ſtates that the bargain with the bookſellers, to which reference is made below, was already completed.

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without fail. I haue the greateſt honors paid me & moſt civilities ſhewn me, that were euer known from the Great; and am engaged all ready to ten Noble Men & Men of faſhion to dine. Mr. Garrick pays me all & more honour than I could look for. I dined with him to-day, & he has promiſed Numbers of great People to carry me to dine w^th^ 'em. He has giuen me an Order for the Liberty of his Boxes, and of every part of his Houſe for the whole Seaſon; & indeed leaues nothing undone that can do me either Service or Credit; he has undertaken the management of the Bookſellers, & will procure me a great price—but more of this in my next.

And now my dear, dear Girl! let me aſſure you of the trueſt friendſhip for you, that euer man bore towards a woman. Where euer I am, my heart is warm towards you, & euer ſhall be till it is cold for euer. I thank you for the kind proof you gave me of your Love, and of y^r^ deſire to make my heart eaſy, in ordering y^r^ ſelf to be denied to you know who;—whilſt I ham ſo miſerable to be ſeparated from my dear, dear Kitty, it would have ſtabb'd my ſoul to haue thought ſuch a fellow could have the Liberty of comeing near you. I therefore take this proof of your Love & good principles moſt kindly, & haue as much faith & dependence upon you in it, as if I was at y^r^ Elbow; —would to God I was at it this moment! but

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I am ſitting ſolitary & alone in my bed Chamber (ten o'clock at night, after the Play), & would giue a Guinea for a ſqueeze of y^r^ hand. I ſend my Soul perpetually out to ſee what you are adoing;—wiſh I could ſend my Body with it. Adieu, dear & kind Girl! and belieue me euer y^r^ kind friend & moſt aff^te^ Admirer. I go to the Oratorio this night.

Adieu! Adieu!

P.S.—My Service to y^r^ Mama.

Direct to me in the Pell Mell, at y^e^ 2^d^ Houſe from S^t^. Alban's Street.

To Miſs Formantel,
At Mrs. Joliff's, in Stone Gate,
YORK.

X.

Saturday. London.

MY DEAR KITTY,

I REC^d^ your dear Letter, which gaue me much pleaſure, with ſome pain, ab^t^ Ranalagh: but never, my dear Girl, be dejected; ſomething elſe will offer & turn out, in another Quarter. Thou mayſt be aſſured nothing in this World ſhall be

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wanting, that I can do, with Diſcretion. I loue you moſt tenderly, & you ſhall euer find me the ſame man of Honour & Truth. Write me what night you will be in Town, that I may keep myſelf at liberty to fly to thee.

God bleſs you, my dear Kitty.

Thy faithful

L. STERNE.

P.S.—There is a fine print going to be done of me, ſo I ſhall make the moſt of my ſelf, & ſell both inſide & out. I take care of my health, but am hurried off my legs by going to great People. I am to be preſented to the Prince.

My Service to y^r^ Mama.

XI.

MY DEAR KITTY,

As I cannot propoſe the pleaſure of your Company longer than till four o'Clock this afternoon, I haue ſent you a Ticket for the Play, & hope you will go there, that I may haue the ſatisfaction of hopeing you are entertained when I am not. You are a moſt engageing Creature, and

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I neuer ſpend an Evening with you, but I leaue a freſh part of my heart behind me. You will get me all, piece by piece, I find, before all is over; & yet I cannot think, how I can be euer more than what I am at preſent.

Your affectionate friend,

LAURENCE STERNE.

P.S.—I will be with you ſoon after two o'Clock, if not at two; ſo get y^r^ Dinner over by then.

XII.

MY DEAR KITTY,

I WAS ſo intent upon drinking my Tea with you this Afternoon, that I forgot I had been engaged all this Week to viſit a Gentleman's Family on this day. I think I mentioned it in the beginning of the Week, but your dear Company put that with many other things out of my head: I will, howeuer, contriue to giue my dear friend a Call at 4 o'clock; tho' by the by, I think it not quite prudent: but what has prudence, my dear Girl, to do with Loue? In this I haue no gouernment, at leaſt not half ſo much as I ought.

I hope my Kitty has had a good night. May

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all your days and nights be happy! Some time it may & will be more in my power to make them ſo.

Adieu!

If I am preuented calling at 4, I will call at 7.

XIII.

Dear Kitty,

If it would haue ſaued my Life, I haue not had one hour or half hour in my power ſince I ſaw you on Sunday; elſe my dear Kitty may be ſure I ſhould not haue been thus abſent. Every minute of this day & to-morrow is pre-engaged, that I am as much a priſoner as if I was in Jayl. I beg, dear Girl, you will belieue I do not ſpend an hour where I wiſh, for I wiſh to be with you always: but fate orders my ſteps, God knows how for the preſent.

Adieu! Adieu!

On Friday, at 2 o'Clock, I will ſee you.

Yrs affy,

L. S.

To Miſs Formantelle,
in Merds Court,
St. Anne, Soho.

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A few Spanish Proverbs about Friars.

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A FEW SPANISH PROVERBS ABOUT FRIARS.

IN a copy of the *Refranes o Proverbios en romance que nuevamente colligiò y gloſſò el Comendador Hernan Nuñez*, (fol., Salamanca, 1555,) in Lord Stuart de Rotheſay's library, ſold by Meſſrs. Sotheby, May and June, 1855 (*Catalogue*, p. 189, lot 2620, 2*l.* 15*s.*), I found, in handwriting which ſeemed of the ſixteenth century, the following enumeration of the proverbs according to their alphabetical order.

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Los Refranes de	A	ſon . .	1047
„	B	. . .	222
„	C	. . .	500
„	D	. . .	607
„	E	. . .	901
„	F	. . .	32
„	G	. . .	81
„	H	. . .	289
„	I	. . .	100
„	L	. . .	648
„	M	. . .	536
„	N	. . .	568
„	O	. . .	169
„	P	. . .	454
„	Q	. . .	1052
„	R	. . .	89
„	S	. . .	428
„	T	. . .	303
„	V	. . .	224
„	X	. . .	7
„	Y	. . .	34
„	Z	. . .	8
Son todos los Refranes		. .	8299[1]

The owner of the volume had likewiſe amuſed himſelf by copying

[1] In the MS. the total is incorrectly ſtated 8331.

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out a number of the proverbs relating to prieſts and friars, upon which he makes the following remark:—

☞ De tantos refranes de frayles ſolos dos les ſon favorables.

Of ſo many proverbs concerning friars there are only two which ſpeak favourably of them.

To theſe proverbs he has added the following, which had not occurred to Nuñez.

Si en eſſe portal obſcuro
No quiere entrar el jumento,
Ponle un avito de frayle
Y ſe colarâ al momento.

If a donkey ſtops at a doorway dark
Stock-ſtill with ſtiffened knees,
Put the weeds of a friar on the quadruped's back
And in he'll quickly ſqueeze.

Amigo de pleitos; poco dinero;
Amigo de medicos; poca ſalud;
Amigo de frayles; poco honnra.

Fond of lawpleas; little wealth;
Fond of doctors; little health;
Fond of friars; little honour.

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Frayles ſobrand' ojo alerte!

Where friars abound, keep your eyes open!

Tres generos ay de frayles; unos buenos buenos; otros malos malos; otros ni buenos, ni malos; los buenos buenos ſon los canonizados; los malos malos los que andan ſolos azotando calles; los ni buenos ni malos los que eſtan pintados.

There are three kinds of friars; ſome very good, others very bad; others neither good nor bad; the very good are the canonized; the very bad are thoſe that go tramping thro' the ſtreets; the neither good nor bad are thoſe in pictures.

Siempre fray fulano, eſtas matandonos, acâ fuera; quien en tu çelda eſtubiera para no verte jamas.[2]

Friar ſo and ſo, you are always tormenting us

---

[2] There is a punning proverbial ſtanza which has the ſame idea;

Don Agelio Fierabras	Don Agelio de Fierabras
El de la perſona ex-caſa	Of the ſpare perſon,
Que nunca en tu caſa eſtas;	You are never at home.
¿Quien eſtuviera en tu caſa	He who would not ſee you
Para no verte jamas?	Muſt live in your houſe.

Excaſa or *eſcaſa* is uſed in the ſenſe of not at home, not *en caſa*, as well as ſpare.

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out here; he who would never ſee you muſt ſtay in your cell.

Frayles, vivir con ellos, y comer con ellos, y andar con ellos, y luego vendellos, que aſſi hazen ellos.

As for friars, [you ought] to live with them, and eat with them, and walk with them, and then ſell them, as they do themſelves.

Dios os libre de hidalgo de dia y de frayle de noche.

God deliver us from a gentleman by day and a friar by night.

WILLIAM STIRLING.

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Inedited Poems of Daniel.

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Inedited Poems of Daniel.

THE following poems, which I believe to be now printed for the firſt time, are attributed to Daniel on the authority of the anonymous tranſcriber from whoſe manuſcript they are copied.

Their authenticity muſt of courſe in great meaſure depend upon the value to be attached to the ſource from which they are derived. It is very rare that arguments as to the parentage of poetry founded upon internal evidence, ſuch as ſimilarity in verſification, in ſubject, or in ſtyle with the admitted works of an author, prove ſatisfactory to the general

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reader. Much more depends upon prepoſſeſſion than upon proof, and that will be to one man confirmation ſtrong as Holy Writ, which to another is abſolutely valueleſs as evidence.

I have therefore addreſſed myſelf merely to the taſk of endeavouring to trace the date of the manuſcript volume in my poſſeſſion, and to diſcover anything which might induce the belief that its quondam poſſeſſor was a reliable ſource of information with regard to the authenticity of the poems under conſideration.

The volume which contains them ſeems to have been a ſort of common-place book, dedicated to the preſervation of various literary matters, which were either the production or attracted the attention of its poſſeſſor.

By far the longeſt and moſt important of its contents is a poem, which has been twice printed; firſt,

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by Roger Michell in 1628, under the title of "The deplorable life and death of Edward the Second, King of England, &c. &c., ſtoried in an excellent poem," and a ſecond time in the following year by B. A. and T. F. for L. Chapman under the title of "The hiſtorie of Edward the Second ſurnamed Carnarvan, &c. &c.," to which edition is appended the name of the author Sir Francis Hubert, Kt. In the title-page of this latter edition the former is angrily denounced by the author of the poem as "a ſpurious and ſurreptitious piece;" and it was, as he ſays in the epiſtle dedicatory, "to vindicate both it and himſelf from thoſe groſſe and ſenceleſſe errours, wherewith that falſe baſtard was too foulie deformed, that it was now ſent abroad to ſeek its fortunes in its true ſhape and habite," with an increaſe of 84 ſtanzas in the whole number of 664.

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It is evident that no one would have taken the trouble to copy a poem of this length, after it had been publiſhed, and was attainable by purchaſe; and ſtill leſs would that verſion have been ſelected for tranſcription, which had been deſcribed by the author as "ſo nakedly ſo unworthily ſo mangled and ſo maymed thruſt into the world, as that he ſcarce knew it." We muſt therefore aſſign an earlier date than 1629 to the manuſcript of Sir F. Hubert's poem, which cloſely aſſimilates to the firſt edition. It is written either in ſeveral hands, or in the ſame hand varied, but a portion of it is undoubtedly in the ſame as that to which we are indebted for the poems attributed to Daniel/ (ſic) in the ſame volume.

There are certain variations between the manuſcript and the printed copy of the life of Edward II. amongſt which I would particularly ſpecify the inſertion of an entire ſtanza in

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the MS. which is omitted in the pirated, although found in its place in the ſecond or genuine, edition, and the occurrence of a portion of three ſtanzas in the MS. which are likewiſe omitted in print, with the remark "deſunt nonnulla," though ſubſequently ſupplied, at leaſt in my copy, by means of a fly leaf. The other variations conſiſt in the alteration of lines and ſhifting of words for the improvement of the rhythm.

Theſe facts, taken in connexion, would ſeem to indicate that the writer of the manuſcript was, if not Sir Francis Hubert himſelf, whoſe indignation was ſubſequently rouſed by the unauthorized publication of his own uncorrected copy, at leaſt a perſon well acquainted with the literature of the day, and therefore a ſufficient authority for our accepting as Daniel's the poems which he has aſſigned to him.

I would further add that the paper,

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the binding, and the handwriting are all in complete accordance with the date aſſigned; and that the binding eſpecially is preciſely ſimilar to that of ſome old muſic books in my poſſeſſion, one of which bears the date of 1625.

JOHN SIMEON.

THE BODIE.

SITTING, and readie to be drawne?
What make theſe velvets, ſilk and lawne,
Ymbroyderies, fethers, fringes, lace,
When every lym takes like a face?

Send theſe ſuſpected helpes to ayde
Some forme defective or decayde.
This beauty without falſehoode faire
Needs nought to clothe it but the ayre.

Yet ſomething to the painter's view
Were fitly interpoſde, ſo now
He ſhall, if He can underſtand,
Worke with my fancie, his own hand.

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Drawe firſt a clowd, all ſave her neck,
And out of that make day to break;
Till like her face it doe appeare,
And men may think all lightneſſe there.

Then let the beames of that diſperſe
The cloude, and ſhew the univerſe;
But at ſuch diſtance that the eye
May rather yett adore than ſpye.

The heaven deſigned, draw next the ſpring
With all that youth or it can bring,
Fowre rivers branching forth like ſeas
And Paradice confirming theſe.

Laſt drawe the circles of this globe,
And let there be a ſtarry robe
Of conſtellations 'bout her horl'd;
And thou haſt painted beautie's world.

But Painter, ſee you doe not ſell
A copie of this piece, nor tell
Whoſe 't is, but if it favor find
Next fitting Wee will draw her mynde.

THE MINDE.

PAINTER! Y'ave come, but may be gone
Now I have better thought thereon.

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This work I can perform alone,
And give you reaſons more than one.

Not that your art I doe refuſe,
But here Wee may no colours uſe.
Beſides your hand will never hitt
To drawe the thing that cannot fitt.

You could make ſhift to paint an eye,
An eagle towring in the ſkie,
A ſunne, a ſea, a ſtandleſs pitt,
But theſe are like a mynde, not it.

No! to expreſſe a mynde to ſenſe
Would aſk a heaven's intelligence,
Since nothing can report that flame
But what's of kyn to whence it came.

Sweet Mynde! then ſpeake yourſelf, and ſay,
As you goe on, by what brave way
Our ſenſe you doe with knowledge fill,
And yet remain our wonder ſtill.

I call you Muſe—Now make it true,
Henceforth my every line be you;
That all may ſay, that ſee the frame,
This is no picture, but the ſame.

A mynde ſo pure, ſo perfect fyne
As 't is not radiant, but devyne;
And ſo diſdaining any trier,
'Tis got where it can try the fier.

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There high exalted in the ſphere,
As it another nature were,
It moveth all, and makes a flight
As circular, as infinite.

Whoſe notions when it would expreſſe
In ſpeech, it is with that acceſſe
Of grace and muſique to the Eare,
As what it ſpoke it planted there.

The voyce ſo ſweete, the words ſo faire
As ſome ſoft chime had ſtroakt the ayre,
And, though the ſounds were parted thence,
Still left an echo in the ſenſe.

But that a mynde ſoe rapt, ſoe high,
So ſwift, ſo pure, ſhould yet apply
Itſelf to us, and come ſo nigh
Our groſeneſs—ther's the how and why!

Is it becauſe it ſees us dull
And ſtuck in clay here, it would pull
Us forth by ſome celeſtial ſleight
Upp to her owne ſublimed height?

Or hath Shee here uppon the ground
Some Paradice or pallace found
In all the bounds of beautie fit
For her to inhabite? There is it.

Thrice happy houſe! that hath receipt
For this the lofty form ſo ſtreight,

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So poliſht, perfect, round and even
As it ſlid moulded off from Heaven.

Not ſwelling like the Ocean proud,
But ſtooping gently as a cloud;
As ſmoothe as oyle poured forth, and calme
As ſhowers, and ſweete as drops of balme.

Smoothe ſoft and ſweete, and all a flood
Where it may run to any good;
And where it ſtaies, it there becomes
A neſt of ſpice-odours and gummes.

An arrow winged as the wynde,
In reſt like ſpirits left behinde
Upon a banke or feild of flowers
Begotten by that wynde and ſhowers.

In thee, faire Manſion, let it reſt!
Yett know with what thou art poſſeſt
Thou entertaining in thy breſt;
But ſuch a mynde makes God a gheſt.

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DE LA

LITTÉRATURE MACARONIQUE,

ET DE QUELQUES

Raretés bibliographiques

de ce genre.

PAR

OCTAVE DELEPIERRE.

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De la Littérature Macaronique

et de quelques Raretés bibliographiques de ce genre.

DEMOCRITE, Ariſtophane, Plaute, Cicéron et bien d'autres anciens auteurs ſe ſont permis fréquemmen de mêler des mots de différentes langues, et d'inventer des expreſſions ſingulières et fantaſtiques. Ariſtophanes ſurtout abonde en mots hybrides, dont quelques uns ont juſqu'à vingt-huit ſyllabes. Nous avons montré dans un ouvrage précédent que le ſtyle macaronique pouvait remonter juſqu'aux hebreux, et depuis lors juſqu' aujourd'hui, il y a un nombre conſidérable de ſavants de tous

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les pays qui ont passé bien des heures agréables soit à lire, soit à composer de semblables pièces de vers ou de prose. Nodier, ce grand maitre en bibliographie et en linguistique, a dit, en parlant des ouvrages macaroniques, qu'il n'y a peut-être pas de partie de l'histoire des livres, qui soit moins connue, quoiqu'il n'y en ait véritablement guère qui mérite mieux de l'être. Nous croyons donc qu'il pourra être agréable aux Bibliophiles qu'en même temps que nous leur présentons quelques petits poèmes d'une excessive rareté, nous y joignions des renseignements littéraires sur le genre macaronique, qui compléteront ce que nous avons dit dans le *Macaroneana*. Dans son introduction à la Littérature de l'Europe aux xv^e^, xvi^e^, et xvii^e^ siècles, 3 vol. in 8°. T. Murray, 1847, Mr. Henry Hallam, en parlant de ce style (tom. 2, page 94), dit que la poésie macaro-

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nique eſt complètement mépriſable. Pour prouver qu'il en juge tout-à-fait en ignorance de cauſe, il ajoute que la tentative d'introduire les vers latins dans le langage moderne, eſt une folie dont chaque nation a été inoculée à ſon tour. Peut-on ſe méprendre plus étrangement ſur l'intention de ceux qui, pour s'amuſer, et pour amuſer le public, ont employé le ſtyle macaronique ? Lorſqu'un eſprit philoſophique en cherche l'origine, il trouve que les réformes religieuſes et politiques en ont preſque toujours été l'origine ; il offre dans la ſatyre, plus de piquant d'une part, et de l'autre plus de reſſources pour la variété des formes.

Alors que la littérature exerçait une action immédiate ſur l'état ſocial ou politique de la nation, comme au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ ſiècles, alors que la critique ne ſe contentait plus d'être ſpéculative, mais devenait pour ainſi

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dire pratique, il fallait agrandir le champ des récréations littéraires, et c'eſt ce que fait le genre macaronique. Quoiqu'il ſoit bien plus ancien, ce ne fut néanmoins qu'aux époques de réformes, ſurtout religieuſes, qu'on ſ'en ſervit pour des pièces d'une certaine étendue.

Mais revenons à la propoſition de Mr. Hallam. Il eſt ſincèrement à regretter qu'un auteur auſſi généralement eſtimé, pour ſon érudition, ſa ſaine critique et ſon jugement, ſe ſoit haſardé à prononcer une déciſion auſſi abſolue, faute d'examen. Quoi! Ce qui a amuſé les hommes les plus illuſtres du XVI^e^ et du XVII^e^ ſiècle, eſt mépriſable! Les juges les plus compétents en littérature, au jugement de l'Europe entière ont manqué de goût et de diſcernment![1]

[1] Une autre aſſertion nous a également frappé dans cette Hiſtoire Littéraire de Mr. Hallam. Dans ſon introduction il paſſe en revue la plupart des écrivains qui ont tenté d'écrire une

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St. Beuve, dans ſon *tableau hiſtorique et critique de la Poéſie Françaiſe*, admet, ainſi que nous, que la Réformation a été une des cauſes de l'introduction du ſtyle macaronique. C'eſt, dit-il, un véritable inſtrument d'oppoſition religieuſe. C'était porter coup aux moines et à tout le bas clergé catholique, que de parodier leur latin barbare.

Les hommes érudits et ſpirituels du xv^e^ ſiècle ſe ſervirent de ce genre pour populariſer une ſatyre, à la fois philoſophique par le fond, et pedanteſque par la forme. Nous ferons connaître plus tard des exemples à l'appui de cette propoſition.

hiſtoire de la Littérature, et il trouve que la France ne poſſède aucun ouvrage, *même de peu d'importance*, ſur l'hiſtoire univerſelle de ſa propre littérature. Eh ! qu'eſt-ce donc que l'hiſtoire littéraire de France commencée par les Bénédictins et continuée par l'Académie des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres ? (25 vol. in 4°) Cette hiſtoire littéraire eſt ſans égale dans le monde entier.

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Dans les Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouſe, récemment publiés, M. Deſbarreaux Bernard a inſéré un article ſur une macaronée inédite, que nous reproduirons ici, article dans lequel il trouve que ce genre ne doit pas être reſtreint dans les limites que certains auteurs lui ont donné, et que l'on doit admettre au rang des œuvres macaroniques, depuis Theophile Folengo (Il ſe trompe, c'eſt Tifi Odaſſi qu'il aurait dû dire) juſqu'à Molière, toutes les pièces en langage mêlé, qui offrent un véritable mérite littéraire. Nous ſommes perſuadé que ſi le ſpirituel Critique Toulouſain avait connaiſſance des mille formes diverſes données par la ſatyre au mélange de différentes langues, il aurait ſenti la néceſſité de les claſſifier, et de tacher de définir chaque genre, d'une manière auſſi préciſe que poſſible. Il en ſerait réſulté qu'il eut accepté la dé-

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finition de Nodier : la véritable macaronée eſt celle, ou la radicale eſt celle de la langue maternelle de l'auteur, et la flexion, latine.

Certes perſonne ne conſidérera comme une macaronée la très ancienne chanſon ſuivante :

Langues d'amours ma doulce fillette
Dum video vos au ver boys ſeullette,
Junctis manibus vous requier mamye
Species tua ne me oubliez mye ;
Poſt quaſimodo irons ſur l'herbette,
Verno tempore floriſſent roſette,
Et in Aurora chante l'alouette.
Philomela dit en ſa chanſonnette
Non eſt clericus qui n'a ſa myette.
Ero hodie en votre chambrette,
Vobiſcum jouer, ſi vous plait blondette,
Ludendo ſæpe les jeux d'amourette,
Multum dulcis eſt la choſe doulcette.[2]

Comme nous l'avons dit, ce mêlange de langues, qui n'eſt pas la Macaronée, remonte juſqu'aux hébreux.

[2] Senſuyvent pluſieurs belles chanſons compoſées nouvellement, &c. Imprimées nouvellement à Paris. *Crapelet*, 1838.

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Dans un ouvrage de F. Delitzch, "*Zur Geſchichte der Judiſchen Poeſie,*" Leipſig, 1836, in 8°. on trouve, page 164, quelques détails peu connus ſur le mêlange de divers idiomes chez des écrivains Juifs. Judas Arje de Modène compoſa une octave (ottava) qui eſt en même temps hébraïque et italienne. Moſe-ben-Abraham Cattalano fit, à l'occaſion du mariage de ſa ſœur, un madrigal du même genre. Judas-ha-Rofe écrivit un petit poème qui eſt en hébreu, mêlé avec le patois des Juifs allemands.

Il exiſte auſſi des poéſies moitié arabe, moitié perſane du Scheick Moſſliheddin Saadi de Shiraz ; et Alcharizi, dans la onzième porte (chant) du Tachkemoni, a mêlé toutes les langues ſémitiques. De pareils exemples ſont innombrables.

Tout le monde connait les vers d'Auſone, mêlange de latin et de grec, et le ſonnet de Montemayor,

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qui eſt à la fois en caſtillan et en portugais.

Les Bibliophiles ſurtout ſe ſont amuſés à compoſer pour leurs livres des inſcriptions en ce ſtyle. Nous en citerons deux, parmi le grand nombre que nous avons recueillies.

Si quiſquis furetur
This little libellum,
Per Phœbum, per Jovem
I'll kill him, I'll fell him!
In ventrem illius
I'll ſtick my ſcapellum,
And teach him to ſteal
My little libellum.

Hic liber eſt meus,
And that I will ſhow;
Si aliquis capit,
I'll give him a blow.

Mais évidemment tout ceci n'eſt pas la véritable Macaronée telle qu'on la trouve chez les ſatyriſtes de toutes les nations, qui nous ont laiſſé des modèles en ce genre. Au nombre

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de ces petits poèmes, il en eſt quelques uns tellement rares que bien peu de perſonnes en connaiſſent autre choſe que le nom, et qu'ils n'ont été ſignalés aux curieux que par de bien courtes citations, dans des ouvrages bibliographiques, peu connus du public.

Un des plus rares, même dans le pays où il fut compoſé, c'eſt Le *Froſteïdos*, macaronée preſqu' inconnue, inſérée dans un pamphlet anglais intitulé: *The Univerſity Snow Drop, an appendix to the great trial, containing a ſelection of ſquibs, old and new, deſcriptive of the wars of the quadrangle, and the conſequences thereof.* Edinbourg, *Richard Weſton*, 1838.

FROSTEÏDOS.

Liber Solus.

Froſty policeque cano, Reekie qui primus ab office
In High Street, ad College venibant quellere riot,
Regiment aſſiſtente novem et ſeptuaginta,
Bayonetibus fixis, ſhottiſque et powdere multo;

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Muſa, mihi cauſas memora, what Student offended,
Quidve dolens parentis Provoſti, tot aſkere queries
Inſignem foolery Lord Rector, tot adire ſo much ſlang
Impulerit. Tantæne animis Studentibus Iræ!
Urbs antiqua fuit (Bailies tenuere coloni,)
Edina, Burntiſland contra, Forth arenaque longa
Oſtia, very poor, Studiiſque aſperrima phyſic,
Hinc erat collegium, edificium very ſuperbum;
Hinc erant Studentes, collected from every terra,
De firſt-rate Magiſtros qui ſapientia tucked in,
Diſcincti juvenes amantes ſcienceque miſchief,
Spes Scotiæ erant, ſpes atque Brittaniæ magnæ.
Hinc etiam erant animalia batonibus ar-med,
Studentes arreſtere toujours et pangere pacem,
"Policemen" Dii, "Charlies" qui homines vocant.
Hinc erant Bailies, Froſty et alia mobbi.
Anno incipiente happenabit, ſnowere multum
Et Gelu intenſum ſtreetas coverabit wi' ſlidas,
Conſtanterque little boys, ſtided et pitched about ſnow-balls
Quorum not-a-few bunged up the eyes of Studentes
Irritate, Studentes chargebant policemen to take up
Little boyos, ſed Charlies refuſabant ſo for to do, then
Contemptim Studentes appellabant "Pedicatores."
Studentes indignant, reverberant complimenta.
Cum multi homines "blackguards" qui gentlemen vocant.
Bakers, et Butchers, et Bullies, et Colliers, atres,
Et alios, ceſſatores qui locus eccleſſiæ frequent
"Tron Church" et Cowgate cum its oderiferous abyſs.
Aſſaultant Studentes ſtickis et umberelibus.
"Hit 'em hard! Hit 'em hard!" Shoutant "damnatos puppies,"

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" Catamitos que torios" appellant et various vile terms,
Studentes audiebant, ſed devil an anſwer returned.
Mobbus Policeque ruunt downpullere portas;
Studentes cudgellis trickheados populi crackunt,
Et ſmaſhunt feneſtras interim ſnow-balls volitantes,
Spemque metumque interdubii, on which ſide the triumph,
Undique Policemen ſinkunt ſub whackibus ſtickum
Undique Butchers, et Bakers, et Colliers floorabunt.
Thomſonus, bullyus in domus ill-famæ Congatus,
Armatus umbrello poket Studentes fruſtra,
Umbrella ſhiverabunt, et Thomſon cuts like the devil;
Veluti doggum cum little boys animal plagant
Et tieunt ad talum tinkettlelum loudly clinkantum,
Currit, et barkat, et *bow-wow*, *bow-wow* ſhoutat.
Provoſt riot-acto cum Dymock Quadrangulo ruſhet,
Sed fruſtra endeavorat to put a ſtop to the row am;
Studentes inquirant " ſi mater ſua cognoſcit
Filium out-eſſe?" Sed Froſty reſpondit nihil!
Concurrit ad ſhoppum Bailie cognominat Grievum
(Aſinus ſed hominus) et cum boulanger Sawers,
Ad Caſtrum militibus Major Young atque they ſendunt,
Militibus mille, annihilitare Studentes.
Horribile dictu! regimentum vite arrivat
Et in quadrangulum ruit at double quick time,
Bayonetibus fixis, et muſketis loaded cum ſhottis.
Subito Policemen, qui nuper were ſadly frightened
Magnanimi fiunt, et right and left ſeize on Studentes,
Arreſtant Dalrymple et Kellat, fortiſſimos vires;
Arreſtant Aikenhead, Skirring que, Weſtmacott auſſi,
Et luggant Studentes plures ad office in High Street.
Oh! pudor! videre gentleman wery ill-treated.

* * * * * * * *

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L'ode à Alexandre III, qui ſuit, ode dans le genre anacréontique, ſur le profeſſeur Monro, ſe trouve dans *The Univerſity Magazine*, 1838, vol. 2d. Edinbourg, 1838. Ce ſont les effuſions de gaieté de quelques uns des ſavants de l'Athènes du Nord. Ce recueil eſt très difficile à trouver, au point qu'on n'en peut plus rencontrer d'exemplaires même à Edinbourg.

ODE TO ALEXANDER THE THIRD.

Doctor O chirurgienſis,
Numerus primus primi menſis
Celebrat, quodcunque cenſis,
Te Monrovi!

Illuſtriſſime Profeſſor!
Omnium virtutum poſſeſſor!
Nullarum legum tranſgreſſor!
Good Monrovi!

Maga, omnes ac Studentes,
Hanc epiſtolam ſcribentes,
Nunc dicemus omnes mentes,
Great Monrovi!

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Tell us, cur, O ſapiens Sandy,
Thou for nummum art ſo handy?
Nihil autem noſcis dandi,
Blunt Monrovi!

Dic, cur facie triſti mœres?
Cur, ſi pulchram famam quæris,
Veſtes tam antiquas geris,
Old Monrovi!

Vides iſta femoralia!
(Unam veſtem inter alia)
Quiſnam vidit unquam talia?
Dic, Monrovi!

Quando novus erat caſtor
Tuus, reverende Paſtor?
Rimas habet queis non plaiſter,
Eſt Monrovi!

Sed cum pies vel tarts ſunt ſitæ
Coram te in menſa ritè,
Omnes curæ ſunt oblitæ,
Sad Monrovi!

Soup plerumque autem legis,
Supplet Doull quodcunque eges,
Sic tranquillam vitam degis
Hic, Monrovi!

Cum tu, raptus viſu plebis,
Somno tumuli ſilebis,
We ſhall, longis faciebus,
Weep, Monrovi!

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Au nombre des plaquettes chères et recherchées eſt la *Macharonea* de Typhis Odaxius (Tifi Odaſſi), dit M. Guſtave Brunet, dans un article inſéré au *Serapeum*, et où il en cite un long extrait. Depuis le catalogue Pinelli, publié en 1787, cette macaronée ne ſ'eſt preſentée dans aucune des ventes, faites en Angleterre ou à Paris. A la fin de ſa notice ſur le poète Alione d'Aſti, M. Charles Brunet a donné de longs détails ſur Odaxius, details que nous avons reproduits dans *Nos Mêlanges de Littérature Macaronique*, Paris, 1852, un vol. in 8°. Ce poème que nous donnons ici, et que le plus grand nombre de nos lecteurs n'auront probablement jamais l'occaſion de rencontrer ailleurs, eſt tranſcrit d'après une édition imprimée à Rimini, chez Jerôme Soncinus, édition que notre ami M. Guſtave Brunet a eu l'extrême obligeance de collationner avec une copie manuſcrite ancienne que

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poſſède à Paris la Bibliothèque Impériale (N° 8366). M. Brunet a trouvé que l'orthographe était peu correcte, mais faute de mieux, elle a été reproduite avec fidélité.

LA MACHARONEA.

Eſt auctor tiphis leonicus atque parenzus
Flora leonicum retinet phroſina tipheum
Sed magne communis ſtentat fornara parenzuz
Omnes auctores rufioni ſive poete.
Fortunam miſeram et caſum riſibile certe
Et macharones ſcura perſone ficatos
Paratamque cenam zaffis magnantibus illam
Sepeque buffantes magna cum fame cuſinum
Et perſam zucham : gladium platinamque migiolum
Quos inſpiratam caſam portavimus ipſi
Et bertapagiam cornutum forma diabli
Et nimis riſu bis terque quaterque cacantem
Et fugientem multo tremore cuſinum
Ei negromantem portans candella de Seno
Cum gropis ſpagum carbonem : zeſſumque bianchum
Implentemque domum cum ſignis atque figuris
Sepeque dicentem, nihil timete, ſodales
Carceribus tandem cunctos ſine cena menatos

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Incipimus noſtre veniant modo ſepe putane.
O patifarum potiſſima pota potazu
Quantum nunquam potui faciam catare futtendi
Tu Pharoſina mihi faveas mea ſola voluptas
Nulla mihi poterit melius ſuccurere muſa
Nullus Apollo magis que tu pulcherima non ſi
Bellorophonteum tota cum pelli caballum
Magnaſſe aut montem omnemque helicodinis umbrum
Si modo ipocritos fratres chiericaſque futentes
Paululum donec compono carmina linquens
Non dico ſemper nihil eſt impoſſibile magis
Tu tamen interea ſive es mea, ſive fratorum
Cognoſces in me que tum tua rumina poſſunt
Queque tua veniant Ailluntia carmina potu
Tuque leonico facilem concede potifam
Flora tuo haud aliter poſſet componere verſum
Tu quoque domicio faveas fornaru parenzo
Atque tuis manibus factam plenamque fenochis
Ad te dum veniet culdam donato fuz azam
Aſpices lector priſciani vulnera mille
Gramatichamque novum quum nos docuere putane
Et verſus quod nos fecimus poſt cena cumtando
Pro muſis vocat vates aliquando putanas
At nunc incipimus aures adhibere benignas

§ *De cuſine ſpiciario.*

Eſt unus in Padua notus ſpeciale cuſinus
In macharonea princeps bonus atque magiſter
Diſcaleis pedibus propter mangiare polentam

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Per fangum et nives caminare atque pedeſter
Hic ubi de vino facient merchata vilani
Cum San hieronymo retinet ſignale botegam,
Non eſt in toto quiſquam poltronior orbe
Sanguine fachinus periurus atque bofarus
De zucharo jurat fattos de melle ſyrupos
De puteo toltam aquam jurat eſſe roſatam
Et quicquid vendit nihil eſt mihi credite bonum.
Hic negromantem ſe cogitat eſſe maruchus
Qui libicochum farfarelum et dragignazum
Et grifricanem calcabrinum et rubricantem
Et malebrancham dominum regemque decenne
Ad libitum quodcunque ſuum facit per forza venire
Carminibus verbis ſignis ſtraneiſque parolis
Quid dico parvos tremat luciferus ubique
Si murmurantem ſentit de nocte cuſinum
Eſt domus ethereum tangens, cum cupis olimpum
In quam fallor Adam habitavit et Eva
Cum cameris ſcuris et mures de muffa colantes ;
Illic non poſſent muros habitare rodentes,
Hic ſe recipiunt ſtrachi de nocte diabli
Rumores faciunt, faciunt tremare paretes ;
Hic reſonant arli, tremantur de ſera vicini
Et cum aqua ſancta bagnant orlando feneſtras ;
Quondam per forza fuit hec donata thomeo
Quam nunquam potuit ſimul affitare de bando ;
Hanc nequam fachini, neque volant habitare putane,
Hic utilitatem caſe damnumque perenne
Conſiderans adiit multa cum prece couſinam

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Atque his orando verbis menavit in illam
O negromantorum princeps metuende cuſine
Armigerorum juvenum fortiſſime ſolus.
Tu ſolus fortem facis tremare guitonum
Tu ſpecimatum facere fugire Renaldum,
Obſcura centum ſbregas de nocte corazas
Et cadenazos manibus mirabile frangis;
O miſeri is quem tu tenebris andando cataſti
Te metuunt omnes, metuit ſuper omnia Pluto
Et quo tu vadis fugiunt ubicunque diabli;
Mortales dextra metuunt tua verba demones
Verba quibus facis annum venire Tomaſum
Qui tibi promiſſam voluit robare novizam
Qui nunc ſtapatos libros comparatque revendit
E caſula veniens doctor magnuſque maruchus
Quibus per totum vadis inviſibilis urbem
Et ſermonetam medicum per forza feciſti
Invitumque tua ſemper praticare botega,
Sed magnum oceanum totum que circuit orbem
In parvo potius poſſem ſichare botazo
Quam minimam partem laudum numerare tuarum;
Denique cum forti potes omnia facere dextra
Nec minus in doctis potes cuſine parolis
Quibus ſi ſpiritus noſtra de caſu cazabis
Qui me non laſſant illam affitare libenter
Me tibi promitto ſervum fidumque fameium
At nunc roſtitam in cenam paribus ocham
Anſeris ad nomen inflata eſt gula cuſini
Et venit ad dentes magno furore palatus
Tunc ſic reſpondit veniam quocumque menabis

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Si modo promiſſam ocham parechiabis a cena
Hanc tamen implebis oleo lardove cepola
Sic Martinengii antiquus poſtulat uſus
Roſtitamque volo graſſo per ſchina colante
Provideant alii panem vinumque bianchum,
Nil ego portabo, ſatis eſt cazare demones.
Tunc diſborſavit multum jurando thomeus
Quantum ſufficiat ocham comprare mejorem
Coſinus juſſis grilabat ubique dinaris
Et ſocios omnes ſic inſegnare comenzat:
Vos qui venitis cuncti ne perdite miſſam
Et multum orate Chriſtum ſanctamque Mariam
In medio credi vos dicite ſalve regina,
Cum dicit introibo vos terque quaterque ſignate,
Ad finem miſſe oculis guardare la terra
Audeat et nemo retro convertere viſtam,
Et nemo veniat niſi ſit confeſſus in anno.
Hec vos ſervando nulla venite paura
Aut in profundum herebi ſcurique baratri
Aut vos in Spagnam portabunt mille diabli,
Tunc vos cuſine nihil clamare juvabit,
Omnes promittunt monitus ſervare tremendos
Mercurio fuerat lux illa ſacrata ſed illa
Ad ſtrigauni zobiam ſpectaverat aptam
Illa etiam nocte conjunx cavalcabat Herodis
Et ſecum ſtriges ſecum caminat et orchus
Hunc expectavit tamen ocha tirante la Gola
Sed prius incupis noctem conſumpſerat omnem
Guardabat celum ſtellas ſtraniumque Bootem
Et parvam urſam et magnum carumque ſequentem

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Et curvas falces polum chiochamque countem
E cupis veniens clamabat venit oryon
Eſt bonum ſignum magicis venerabile ſacris
O bonum aſtrologum non peſtes iſte futuras
Non mortes regum : non prelia maxima turchi
Nunciat in celo potuit cognoſcere nunquam
Quam ſolam dicunt bellum manzare cometam
Innumereſque fore rapas compoſta futuras
Porcorum ad numerum : nullam dicit iſte boſiam
Quod baldonacios illo magnabimus anno
Qui etiam docuit caram de nocte maſſaram
Noſcere lunarem curſum ſolique viazum
Temporibus certis facit bolire lavezum
Temporibus certis pugnat : de cena faſolos
Quid moror his verbis : non eſt utilior alter
Non niſi per gula celum cognoſcit et aſtra
Ad curſum lune magnat : cacat ; futitque
In terra tiphis cupiens ſoiare cuſinum
Si vultis iſtum parvum cognoſcere tiphim
Conjunx phroſine nunquam ſatiata futiri,
Hanc futit tiphis tanquam regina de franza,
Nec ſolus tiphis : futuunt quicumque fachini
Precipue fratres zocholis calcagna batentes.

§ *De Bertapalia.*

Hic bertapaiam tota cercabat in urbe
Inter bordelos, inter cinquanta putanas,
Frapantem multum jurantem corpora Chriſti
Ridentem multum bufonizamtemque cutavit
Hic eſt joſtrator frapator magnuſque fututor

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Et putanarum gubernator maximus atque
Eximius vates zoilerius et ſpadacinus
Qui niſi ifallum nunquam ſcit dicere verum
Non niſi per forza veritas de dente veniret,
Videres potius celum caſcare rotundum
Precipiteſque deos Martem Veneremque putanam,
Et potius violas nivem florere per albam,
Fulmina reſtari montes caminare veloces
Phroſinamque meam pejus venire pudicam,
Quam bertapaiam veram parlare parolam.
Quicquid enim dicit credat quicumque boſiam
In centum verbis dicit mendacia centum
Nititur interdum verum proferre: Sed illi
Uſus jam pridem et mendax natura repugnat
Quod ſi mendacem querit ſforzare naturam
Infelix toto caſcat de corpore ſudor
Et pariter ſocios: pariterque ſoiat amicos
Et nunquam rendit quicquid dedere ſodales
Omne impreſtatum poteris jurare donatum.
Quid dicam quante veniunt à Pava putane
Omnes cum ſogiis: cum frapis atque minacis
Aut futit: aut cunctas vadit futice dicendo
Et principales gaudet divinare pavances
Sed tantum marzas poteſt futire vacazas
Semper habet taſcam cum muſcis atque zibetis
Cum paucis ſoldis cum literis atque ſonetis
Suas ſibi quotidie dicit mandare moroſas
Has etiam legit per forza ſadalibus omnes
Aut male compoſtos opus eſt audire ſonetos
Atque omnes digitos magnis circundat anellis

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De ramo factis paulumque in cima doratis
Et vitros pictos finos jurat esse zaphiros
Omnibus hos monstrat nullam gerit iste manezam
Nil stimat solem : nil stimat frigora semper
Extra biscabam digitis ostentat anellos,
Precipue tamen cum vadit duniare de festa
Sed si forte tirat cazus catare putanas
Cogitur atque illas cum centum millia frapis
Cum centum sogiis sanctos jurare per omnes
Interdum passat : manicas promittit ad illas
Illis centuras traversas scarpe zopellos
Dat nihil ille tamen, potius crede mihi roburet
Sed bonis verbis in longum menat azanze
Hec sunt quas dicit literas mandare morosas
Cum robata sibi sua cum promissa domandant.
Est etiam astrologus tanque speciale cusinus
Quod didicisset celum guardando vel astra
Utile nil aquam vino missiare fumanti
Est herbolatus cervicus et cavadentes
Est negromantes factis cum cera figuris
Et cum gazelis in panza in corde ficatis
Martellum facit cunctis venire putanis ;
Est autem armatus scura de nocte timendus
Hic unus facit fortem dubitare Gayotum
Sed mage conzatas valet magnare lasagnas ;
Est etiam medicus facit guarire podagras
Calzantisque facit subito fugire buganzas
Et venientes facit morire panochias,
Cazorum amazat parva cum pulve carolus
Et de parvis magnas facit venire tetazas,
Et parvas potas facit venire potazas,

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Facit opilatos ſubito morire de fame
Et burchieleſcos facit ſine fine ſonetos,
Atque cecolotum fama eſt robare ſepultum
Ille tamen jurat propria componere teſta
Quod quidem credo : vatem ſua verba ſomeliant
Sepeque joſtravit ſemel in platea verone
Aqua ni falor magnum portavit honorem
Nam flougaſſe ferunt illum joſtrando plateam
Armatumque hominem totum ſub terra ficavit ;
Eſt etiam Padue celebris Buffonus in urbe
Et etiam matus fantaſticus atque bizarus,
Si vultis etiam melius cognoſcere dicam
Illum non puduit circum portare rialtum
Tum cum culmus erat et gentibus undique plenus
In capite zucham turba ſine fine ridente
Cridabant pueri ſcorzas butando meloni
Ecce bertapagiam ! nihil tamen ille curabat.
Multaque pretereo magno digniſſima libro
Que neque centum poſſent numerare poete
Hunc poſtquam tiphis multo ſudore catavit
Cum canciano ſuo forte de nocte ſodali.

§ *De Canziano pictore.*

Huic etiam laudes opus eſt nunc dicere dignas
In ſignoria pictor tenet ille platea
De lancis plenam bardis targone botegam
Pro capis retinet ſtrani colore ſcudelas
Et malefactos multa cum pulve penellos,
Facit pro melius banchos de villa novicis
Interdum creuzas facit de zalo ſuperbas
Deſiderat multum potuit : ſed dicere nunquam

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Pingere baſtonos : pingit demazo rectori
Quod ſi aliud pingit guaſtat ſimul atque ſpegazat
Et comandatus opus eſt litigare Palazo
Omnia patronis tandem pagare neceſſe eſt ;
Quod ſi forte aliquem voluit dipingere gallum
Quicumque aſpiciat poterit jurare cicognam
Depinxitque ſemel canes caza in currentes
Omnes credebant natantes in equore luzos.
Sive hominem pingit poteris tu credere lignum
In quo ſartores ponunt ſine capite veſtes ;
Seu nudos facit multo ſudore patinos
Tu caput a culo poteris dignoſcere nunquam ;
Sive facit gremio Chriſtum retinere Mariam
Non licet a filio ſanctam dignoſcere matrem ;
Pro gradelinis depingit ſepe galinas
Et pro galinis depingit ſepe caballos ;
Blaſphemat jurat culpam eſſe penelli
Quos ſpazaturas poteris jurare de bruſcho
Tam bene depingit pictorum peſſimus iſte,
Nec tamen inferior ſe cogitat eſſe Belino
Gioſtravitque ſemel : nullum tamen ille tocavit
Omnes tacebant ſolo cigante figliolo
Quam habuit lanzam illam portavit a caſa ;
Eſt homo grandus groſſus ſimul atque politus
De feſta nunquam ſe cogitat eſſe depentor
Duniat ille quidem ſemper : futitque rarenter
Seque papagatum viridem veſtivit ut illum
Diſceret et poſſet aliquando pingere ocellum
Quod niſi feciſſet multum ſtentando zoetum
Pro papagato mihi crede feciſſet et ocham ;
His dictis noſtram tandem tornemus a caſam.

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§ *De Paulo guloſo.*

Iſtis tiphetus poſtquam ſua verba narravit
Promittunt ambo multum jurando venire
Tunc parvus Tiphis caro comitante Thomeo
Guloſum eſcabant ocham monſtrando cuſinum,
Ille tamen fuerat multum venire paratus,
Ille dies annus apparuit eſſe cuſino
Non mimus eſt Paulo guloſior iſte cuſinus
De quo nunc paulo dicemus multa leardo;
Zodiacum phebus quaſi ſtrapas averat omnem
Ceperat et nigrum paulatim intrare ponentem
Cum ſtrachi tendunt caſas habitare paiales
Verſati terra multo ſudore villani
Creſcere cum vident umbras de monte majores
Atque domum cazant vachas porcoſque bubulci,
Et nox ſtellatum monſtrabat gentibus axem
Cum Paullus ardens ocham videre paratam
Jam iam tempus erat dicebat ſepe cenandi
Quam vos compraſtis ocham mihi credite non eſt
Eſt expectemus propter portare fameios
Ipſe ego portabo quo non me gula ficaret
Collegii doctor rubeum portando capuzum.
Dixit et abreptam multo furare ficavit
Subter mantellum qui nunc eſt fructus et unctus
Accelerans caſam graſſu ſpeſegante cuſini,
Sic illum doctus amiſaverat ante cuſinus
Ad puntum lune illum roſtire volendo
At nunc incipio laudes deſcribere Pauli
Quarum me numerus terret facitque tremare,

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Clamatum poſſem phebum ſtrachare muſaſque,
Incipiam tamen et dicam que dicere poſſum:
Hic paulus quo non vivit guloſior alter
E Vicentina genitus infamia terra
Eſt juvenis parvus albis riziſque capillis,
Quo coperit madidum ſemper ſudore biretum,
Frons brevis et ſub te ſplendeſcunt lumina gate
Pendet et ad bucham multo rubore naſochium
Sunt dentes nigri propter magnare fruati
Et labros retinet ſemper de graſſo colantes;
Intraret bucham magnus caſtronus apertam
Et ſemper lucet mentus cum barba de graſſo,
Semper habet nigrum multo ſudore colarum.
Hunc etiam ad habitum poteris cognoſcere lector
Martellum portat quo non ſtat graſſior alter
Hoc in ſardellas nigrum egrit et caviarum
Piſcibus hunc freſchis hunc implet piſce ſalato,
Nullum carnerium nullum fruat iſte ſachettum
Omnia mantello portantur condita fruſto,
Hic coprit veſtem nullo licore carentem
Hunc propter graſſum poteris ſichare novellas;
Sunt totidem vechie quot ſunt et undique pilli
Illum non poſſent centum lavare liſſie,
Nec pater Oceanus nec milia flumina mundi.
Quid dico zazas totus eſt mihi credite graſſus
Verzarum poſſet centum conzare lavezos,
Nec tamen minimam deperdere machiam.
Quid tandem moror domino eſt digniſſima veſtis
Semper habet calzas ſtringis ſtringata duobus
Cum centum gropis nullo pendente fereto,
Semper ſtrazatas multoque ſudore puzantes

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Cum bolzachinis porta et calcagno foratis ;
Nunquam ſcapinat ſemper tacone repeſat
Portat centuram cum centum milia gropis,
Centum impignavit factum de peltre doratum
Propter ſchialem, propter comprare moronam.
Nunc ego virtutes et mores cantabo guloſos
Zuchator balle nulla ſtrachabilis arte,
Sempeque ſchizarolos parlat ſimul atque balonos
Hoc facit propter citus padire magnarum
Sepius ut poſſit lecum fovere palatum ;
Quid dicam quotiens vadit oselare zoeta
Milia viginti qua jam pigando caminat,
Nil terrent illum ſpine ſilveque ſoſſata
Semper habet ſecum rizagium ſpale pezantem,
Si forte aſpiceret piſcem ſaltare piſcina
Et zarabotam et plenum bolote ſachetum
In ſpala portat plenis de viſcho bachetis
Quas ſuper réſidet volucrum buffonazoeta
Pendet a ſiniſtris per non morire de fame
Cum pane carnerius et cum braſola de porco
Quam vigilando multum de nocte robavit
Minima quid dicam : cum jam majora ſuperſint,
Unicus hic omnes ſuperat de mundo lecones
Ad mundum tantam propter magnare creatus
Gutturis exemplum vaſteque voraginis archa,
Ipſe poteſt dici meritoque vocatur ubique
Leconum doctor et maxima gula gularum ;
Et quid non faceret propter ſatiare la gulam ?
Si ſatiare gulam poſſet ventremque voracem,
Sed magne poſſibile eſt nives ardere bianchas

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Quam Vicentinum Paulum ſatiare doctorem,
Qui nunc in venetas cupit caminare paludes,
Nam jam ſtrachavit cunctos in pava pavanos
Faſtidioque venit ſtuvariis atque tabernis
Semper da cena ſemper diſnare domandat,
Semper da papis illum parlare catabis,
Semper cum coquis illum practicare videbis,
Semper habet gulam propter magnare paratam,
Semper habet dentes multa de fame batentes,
Semper habet cordi macharonos et canigiarum,
Semper ſardellas et lucanicum de porco buellum,
Semper in cavernis animum tenet atque lavezis,
Semper habet cordi coquinas atque tabernas,
Semper fornaros; ſemper cum carne becaros,
Sed macharonos ſuper omnia ſepe domandat.
Qui ſi porphiream foret ingens concha papalis
Plena macharonis ſivalzo ſuperante ſalatum
Quem centum poſſent lavellum eſſe caballis
Cum qua romanam turbam ſatiaverent omnem,
Papa Polus cupiens famem laſare gulofis
Illa ſcudelinus videretur minimus eſſe
Tantus appetitus, tam vorax gula gulaza;
Quid dicam mores quando ſlovignat et implet
Buchas gingivas dentes cum gula palatum
Atque cibum ponit manibus in bucha duabus,
Labra colant graſſo et reſonant ſtridore maſſelle
Tanquam molinus dentes ſpeſegare videbis;
Illum ad menſam nunquam parlare videbis
Nec paſſegiantem ſemel guardare maſſaram,
Semper habet pleno ſua lumina affixa Tajero,

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Si poſſet vellet pariter cum carne tajerum
Tanta eſt eluvies uno magnare lechone,
Nil faciant illum ſeptem decemque Meneſtre
Omnia confundit vinum, panem, maneſtram ſalatam,
Frataias piſces uno ficat ore bochone
Et dolet et queritur parvam habere buchatam.
Quod ficare nequit quantum ſua gula domandat
Solicitus ergo ficat atque ficando reficat,
Aſpiciens naſum mentum cum labra maſellas
Tam quam lambicus ſemper collando de graſſo
Nec ſorbire curat propter non perdere tempus.
Aſpice mantellum et veſtem de graſſo lucentem
Et cum calderas vacaverat atque lavezos
Et cum ſcudellas lavaverat atque tajeros
Sunat fergugias pariterque calchare caminat,
Perdere fergugias magnum dicit eſſe peccatum.
Quid dicam quoties illum dormire putamus
Surgit affamatus et media de nocte cuſinat.
Si modo perſutum potuit robare ſalutum
Cetera deſunt ſupas facit atque migiolum,
Spernit et in magno ſupas facit ille catino
Quam cum magnavit aliam facit atque reponit
In bancho lecti propter magnare matinam.
Quid dicam quoties matellum veſta capuzum
Impegnat rabiem propter ſaciare palati
Nec tamen ſaciat: magnans magnare requirit
Quanto magis magnat tanto magis iſte fameſcit;
Studet Avicenam propter padire de boto
Ut citius poſſit vacuam inſpire la panzam
Et ſi de toto venirent orbe guloſi

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Quot ſunt preteriti, quot ſunt quantique futuri,
Et ſecum rapide facerent diſcrimina gule,
Solus avanzaret cunctos pauluſque ſoletus
Ultimus a menſa graſſos lecando Tajeros
Surget affamatus et adhuc magiare paratus;
Non poſſunt tantum coqui roſtire famegi
Nec tantum ad menſam greſſu portare volanti
Quantum ſlovigant gentum magiando de-
cipat,
Pars cadit in veſtem; pars maxima gula ficatur,
Pars ficat in manicam propter magiare ſecretum
Hec ego non ſolus vidi ſoluſque notavi,
Viderunt omnes juvenes vechique Pavani
Et quocunque vadit cuncti ſibillatur in urbe.
Ad vos nunc veniet veneti parechiate farinam
Sed tercentem preſte celereſque maſſare
Omnes arregata facerent ſi nocte diuque,
Vix macharonos quantum magiaverit ipſe
Solus ſoletus poterunt grata cara tirare.
Sic macharoneus doctor vocatur ubique
Collegii doctor doctus gratare ſalatum
Et macharonos doctus grata chara tirare,
Quando ſunt cocti multum cognoſcere doctus
Precipue nigri fundum tocando lavezi,
Doctus et ad naſum bene cognoſcere roſtum
Et bene conzatas doctus cognoſcere tripas,
Et macharonos ſuper omnia facere doctus.
Non poſſunt aliquid circum roſtire vicini
Quod non ad rubei naſi cognoſcat odorem.
Si manet in villa naſum quoque ſlongat a Pava
Cognoſcit ſubito quid facit a cena cuſinus,

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Et finnias guſtu canes avanzat odore,
Dum dico canes opus eſt intendere brachos.
Hec eſt doctoris celeberrimi vita lecardi.
Cetera cantabo alis majora librazo.
Hic poſtquam caram tetigit ſpiciale cuſini
Verberat ad portam aperi cridando maſſara,
At ocha viſa parvum quievere rumores
Hanc etiam merito poteris chiamare lecardam
Qui pote cum magnis ſemper magiando lechonis
Aſcendunt ſchalam, referatur porta cuſine,
Accipit a lecto Pajam maſſara ſimulque
Ignibus imponit ſolo ſulfiante fuffinam.
Interea Paulus collum tiravarat oche,
Nec mora ſufflando multa cum preſſa pelabat
Intus et accenſum flammam voluitque menatque
Hoc faciens propter pillos bruſiare minutos ;
Dum fecit hec Paulus alio cantone Maſſara
Impaſtat lardum aleum ſimul atque cepolam,
Unguibus at Paulus ſlargans feramina culi
Non potuit dantem cultellum aſpectare Maſſaram ;
Tunc implet illi largum paſtamine ventrem
Nec procul hic fuerat propter cuffire maſſaram
In manibus filum retinebat atque guſellum ;
Hec dum ſcribebam venit vergogna mihique
Improviſa fecit rubeum venire viſazum,
De tali mundum quidquam parlaſſe Maſſara ;
Hoc pudet exclamat ſed hec tranſgreſſio non eſt
Facta mea culpa juſſit vergogna prete.

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§ *De Maſſara cuſini ſpiciari.*

At nunc incipio laudes cantare maſſare,
Poſt tamen ad Paulum memor tornabo lecardum,
Corpore quam parvam ſed magnam dico putanam,
A caput incipiens nigros habet illa capillos
Lendinibus plenos ſemper ſudore covertos,
Et ſcarpellatos habet omni tempore ocellos
Inque oculorum gemino cantone puinas;
In viſo poteris portos plantare puzanti,
Nam ſemel in toto viſum ſibi lavat in anno
Plenaque formaio retinet dentalia ſemper,
Semper ab utraque pendet de nate mocinus,
Et bucha veniens puzat ſine fine fiatus
Fratorum malles merdam maſare novellam
Inque ſinu patent gemine de pelle tetaze
Quas que minor eſſe poterit thocare bilichum,
Illis bagnatam ſugat de nocte potazam,
Illis fotuti cazum ſugat atque cuſini,
Illis ſcalognas illis ſicat illa cepolas.
Interdum panis medium pezumque recondit
Atque manus monſtrat ſemper colare carognam,
Et nigras ungues quales lancroia tenebat,
Pectora puzanti ſemper ſudore repleta
Et ventrem magnum plenum de merda barilem,
Cum centum creſpis tanquam dalmatica veſtis
Qui camiſotus veneta vocatur in urbe.
In mediis gambis apud foramina culi
Quem tu magnificum poteris jurare Buſazum,

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Ingens apparet variiſque meatibus antrum,
Extra pendenti rubei marzique figati
Nomine quo proprio vocatur ubique potaza,
Et circumcirca ſive longique pilazi
Dicite nos nimphe totumque cernitis orbem
Quæ ſubter terram facitis ubicumque viazos.
Tu quoque ſpeluncas intrans Neptune, per omnes
Illi ego quam ſimilem poſſum conferre cavernam,
Illic cum velis poſſent nature galie,
Illic continue comices fecere viarum.
Hic gambarelli pulices habitantque peochi
Et quas producit piatolas locus ille malignus,
Non ſunt granceolis magnis mihi crede minores,
Hic fetor inumerus: hic illa opacha mephitis
Exalat naſis multum fugienda fœtorque;
Multaque pretereoque, ſi omnia dicere vellem
Poſſem de carta totam vacuare bataiam.
At cum purpureus venit dux ille ferare
Nec paneſellos nec tunc fruat iſta fazolos
Omnia perguſſas gambas pedeſque colantem
Sanguinis illius factum cum cruſta ruborem,
Jam gambe et coſſe videntur gambara cocti
Semper habet ungues multa lanugine plenas
Cum quibus et cenam facit et diſnare cuſino.
Quî dicam quoties inter diſinare futuntur
Cum quibus illa cazum: et cum quibus ille potiſam
Tocarunt manibus, magnant taiantque meneſtrant;
Dic mihi cui ſtomachos fecit natura mejores

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Hanc tamen tota furit de nocte cufinus,
Hanc amat atque colit, iſtam baſiat atque juratque
Et caſtam jurat: ſed cum manet ille botega
Et pilulas fecit digito per palma menato,
In porta expectat venientes undique cazos
Nec ſemel inventa eſt potam negaſſe petenti;
Imo ſi juvenem videt paſſara que illa
Cogitat et credat magnum tenere cazonem,
Hanc ſubito clamat; quid tantas dico parolas
Hanc unam poteris ſimilem vocare proſine,
Hanc macharoni futuunt ſuper omnia cuncti.

§ *De Paulo guloſo predicto.*

Paulus naſochius doctus gratare ſalutum
Armiger hic de quo dicent multa guiotus
Simon prociliis: benedictus: turaque zuca
Atque alii multi quos nunc numerare fatica eſt
Nec macharone maſſara gratiſſima lecta eſt.
Stranius hanc etiam ſecte venerabile caput
Sepe futit de quo me cogit dicere tempus
Cantando ſtranium venit mihi voia cacandi,
Quem quantum potero brevibus cantabo parolis:
Stranius eſt nomen illi; eſt ſua maxima virtus
Semper affamatus, ſemper magiare paratus.
Sunt multæ ſcroſſæ circum ſua colla ficate
Cum ſunt dephenſe ſubito eſt moriturus à fame,
Ni portaretur furnus cum pane cavato
Ad paſtum magiat ſolus totumque boazum,

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Et macharonorum plenum cum ſmalzo cainum,
Quales pergameos memini vidiſſe tinazos.
O quantum vini quantum bibit iſte vinazam !
Hunc alium vere poterit chiamare calurum
Cum bocalem bibit nullum fruat iſte miolum,
In manica ſemper portat magiabile quicquam
Adſtringam ſemper poteris cantare potazum,
Sepe crudelem reprehendit ubique guiotum
Nil illum ſpate : nil illum prelia movent ;
Semper habet cordi caſeum : ferzura lavezum
Gradellas crenzas : vinum pigmata ſofritum ;
Quid dicam : quotiens vadit impignare capuzum
Et quotiens fruſtam propter magiare la capam
Semper impignatum retinet de ſtate biretum.
Hic fidus eſt ſocius verus caruſque ſodalis
Compagniiſque bonus Pauli doctore legardi.
Quis non hanc poterit ſectam clamare felicem ;
Hic ſunt armigeri magnotores atque lecones
Hic nigromans hec eſt larga maſſara potiſſa ;
Sed nos pelatam tandem tornemus ad ocham
Qua prædicta modo cuſibat ubique maſſa
Reprehendens paulum lardum per forzaficantem ;
Ecce ſupervenit magno furore cuſinus :
Quid facitis pigri, gulla tirante cigabat,
Quam dixit vobis jam paſſat tempus et hora !
Dixit et acceptam ſpeto ficavit acuto.
Feſtinat paulus focis imponere ligna
Sed bronto lubat multum cuſinus avarus ;
Volvitur hæc circum lardum maſſara colabat
Menabat paulus ſpetum, terraque ſedebat,

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Mantellum retinens circum ſimul atque capuzum ;
Ne viderent illum mures gateque lecarde,
Tirabat braſas ſpadani tenendo quietus,
Hic ſemper ſpadam tenet omni tempore ſecum
Hanc nunquam laſſat ſpadam magiando, cacando ;
Semper conſiderat ſemper grilando manezat,
Seu dormire vadit ſubter cavazale locatur
In bancho lecti jacent cum ſcudo coraza
Cortellos centum ſecum ſub pieta reponit ;
Non eſt in toto mundo crudilior alter
Nec magis bizarus nec plus timidus in urbe.
Hic Macharoneæ defenſor maximus unus
Propter guiotum hæc undique ſecta timetur ;
Cum de nocte vadit precingitur undique ferro ;
Quid dico ? ferrum totum ſe facit azalem
Tot ſimul et tantis armis ſuperingerit arma,
Ut tercentem nequeant numerare poete
Carnibus imponit factam de ferro camiſſam,
Longum ne poſſet quiſquam ferire coiones ;
Tunc ſuper imponit factum de maja zuponem
Et ſupra zachum magnam ſperatque corazam
Quam paladinum jurat portaſſe daneſſeum.
Non à carta nimis tocat, mihi crede, cavechias
Ferratas brachas circum culamina ponit,
Gambieraſque ponit ; tanquam caminaret aioſtra
Magnos brazales, ſpalazos atque majores
Induit et groſſam ficat cervice celatam
Feratam et faciem tanquam carnevale bautam,
Et gorzarinam fino circondat azale

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Ne guſtaretur ſolitum macharonibus iter ;
Tunc tollit guantos quos non ſchiopeta paſſaret
Armatum totum maſizum et undique ferrum
Se facit, atque oculi apparent in corpore ſoli,
Illis ferratos etiam imponit ochiales ;
Hec ſunt futuli munimina corporis arma.
Tunc targa ingentem factam de ligno ficati
Cui centum piaſtras fecit ficare dazale
Accepit in tergo, fundum paret illa Tinazi ;
Hunc vix vigenti poſſent levare fuchini,
Tunc ſtabuchinam multo labore tirata
Se ponit a retro : eſt totus ferreus archus,
Ligneus eſt trunchus quem vocat turba telerum
Corda eſt puglienſis de nervo facta caballi ;
Nec procul hic pendet centum pharetra ſagittis
Pendet, et a dextris plenus balare ſachettum,
Sunt centum numero pars eſt grandeſa peponis
Quas hic ſi ſolito torquet furore guiotus ;
Tu bombardellas poteris penſare tuentes
Tum rapite bancho nigram magnamque guainam
Cortellis plenam proprio pariente probatis
Ponit et ſchina januenſem protinus enſem
In mediis gambis vadit pugnale batendo,
Ponit a ſiniſtris ſpatam magnam lucidamque
tujantem
Quam durindanæ poteris penſare ſororem,
Quam vix triginta poſſent de terra levare,
Hunc tamen jurant nihil peſare guiotus ;
Cuſtodes iſta facit de nocte fugire ;
Amazat gentes, facit tremare pilaſtris :
Nil ſtimat Martem : pejus ſtimaret Achillem,

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Sanſonem : Orlandum faceret morire paura,
Tanto vadit ſtrepitu, tanto furore caminat ;
Sub pedibus tremat caminantem terra guiotum.
A dextris anulum retinet zupone cuſitum
In quo bicipitem portat cum ſcudo manarum
Et dardos geminos portat per trare fineſtra,
Ronchonum in dextra portat Bologna creatum
Ingentem horrendum magnumque patentem,
Illam quis fecit magnus fuit ille magiſter,
Aſt ubi tam groſſum robur longumque catavit,
Aut hunc catatum que nam manara tajavit
Intro procul dubio poſſet componere caſa
In qua ſub celo ſtrachus requieſceret Atlas,
Milia viginti fertur circundare brazos.
Quid dico ? ferrum factumque in acumine pontam
Cum qua ſfrantumat ſaxos et undique montes,
Caſtellos, rochas, caſas urbiſque pilaſtros
Cum qua pendentem poſſet dividere terram,
Sed timet antipodis aliam eſſe forte guiotum.
Non poſſent illum centum portare caballi :
Argava non centum ; non poſſent mille Boazi,
At tamen in manibus paret feſtuca guioti.
Et quis non talem timeat de nocte guiotum ?
Centum campagnas ; tercentum milia trumbas :
Centum ferſuras, centum reſonare bacinos
Jurabis quotiens vadit de nocte guiotus
Tanto vadit ſtrepitu ; tanto furore caminat
Sub pedibus tremat caminantem terra guiotum.
Audit et in celo reſonantem Jupiter ipſe
Credit et in celum fortes venire gigantes,

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Trapaſſatque omnes firmo munimine portas,
Et Brontem et ſteropem et nudum membra piragmon
Valeanumque facit nigra ſudare fuſina.

FINIS.

Impreſſum Arimini per Hieronymum Socinum.

Depuis les renſeignements bibliographiques donnés par M. Charles Brunet, dans ſon *Manuel du Libraire*, ſur la Macaronée de Tifi Odaſſi, M. P. A. Toſi, dans une brochure très peu commune, a publié de nouveaux détails ſur trois autres éditions reſtées juſqu'à préſent inconnues. Comme nous en avons préſenté l'analyſe, à la page 127 de notre ouvrage ſur les Macaronées en général, nous nous abſtiendrons de les répéter ici, en terminant par les paroles de Toſi lui-même : *queſte edizioni ſono tutte di ſomma rarità, potendoſi aſſerire che di eſſe non ſi conoſcono altri eſemplari oltre quelli che qui ſi trovano deſcritti.*

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Une autre Macaronée dont La Croix du Maine, La Monnoie, Du Verdier, Brunet, et d'autres bibliographes ont parlé, et que bien peu d'écrivains ont eu le plaiſir d'avoir ſous les yeux, eſt la *Cagaſanga Reyſtro-Suyſſo Lanſquenetorum*, publié ſous le nom de Jean Baptiſte Lichiardus, et que les uns ont attribué à I. B. Richard, les autres à Tabourot.

En offrant également ce poème aux Membres de la Société des *Philobiblon*, nous croyons avoir remis en lumière quatre des plus grandes raretés bibliographiques du genre.

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Cagaſanga
Reiſtroſuyſſo,
Lanſquettorum,

PerMagiſtrumJoannemBapiſtam(ſic)
Lichiardum
Recatholicatum Spaliporcinum Poetam.

Pariſiis,
Apud Joannem Richerium, via D. Joan. Lateranenſis ſub Arbore Vireſcenti.
1588.

A MONSIEUR HANS KRAUFELT.

Monſieur, je vous envoye la copie d'un Macaronique gracieux, qu'a fait un Aduocat de Dijon: et combien qu'il ſoit d'un ſtile embronché en tout ce qu'il fait, Si eſt-ce qu'il ſemble qu'il ait

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eſclaircy ſa Muſe en ce petit livret, plus que de couſtume. Je ne ſcay ſi c'eſt à cauſe que telle façon de parler, approche ſon naif langage de vigneron, ou comme luy meſme dit, d'Eſpaule de Porc, ou il eſt ſi bien verſé qu'après trois ou quatre de telle eſtoffe, on luy donne quelque reputation es rues de S. Philibert et S. Pierre. Or quoy qu'il en ſoit, ne laiſſez d'en rire et de plorer joyeuſemet la meſadventure de vos Reiſtres, qui ſe fuſſent bien paſſé de nous venir voir, Adieu, De Dijon ce 1. Janvier, 1588.

Voſtre meilleur amy
Claude Bornibitous.

Cagaſanga

Reiſtroſuyſſolanſquettorum.

Heu! piſtoliferos Reiſtros, traytroſque volores,
Heu! picquitremulos, immania corpora Suyſſos,
Heu, heu! Lanſquettos, alebardas ferre ſuetos,
Et ſpadas bimanas, iambis brachiſque copandis;
Qui noſtram adpulerant terram pillare recenter,
Cum miris graffis, viſagis cumque diablis,
Cum nigriſque caballis, cum innumeris chariottis,
In quibus aiebant bladi tornare molinos,
Eſſeque pettardos, eſſe ignivomaſque haque-
buttas,

Furtum ex Belleo, de pigliamine Reiſtrorum.

Verbum ſiniſſimum et rectè inſutum, Que: *cheville digne d'attacher un veau au bourg.*

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Quæ peti, peta, petouſ, de ſeſe vah ! reſonabant,
Excuſſæ, minimi tantum pulſamine venti ;
Heu pietas ! abeunt ſubito terrore paventi,
Docti intra proprias caudam ſerrare culottas,
Elegans amphibologia. Ut canis a brodio perfuſus terga culinæ,
O picquigeruli Suyffi, quæ tanta tonavit
Longa metræ cauſa. In veſtras Cagaſanga bragas, ut linquere veſtros
Verbum indigeſtum. Compagnos Capitanóſque, et ſoto ſopra vilanos
Panſeſtis ? ſtomachos grandes, totoſque vorare
Cochonos aptos, lardum, polláſque macelli,
Atque papyracei brochos volare falerni
Uno ictu, patulæ modico ſpiramine faucis ;
Quis tremor invaſit ? Magnis lançata Guyſis
Haſta, an penſata eſt veſtros penetrare Goſieros ?
Aut veſtros ventres, craſſos abdomine porci ?
Nonne iſti vobis, ferri preuvata cuiraſſa ?
Atque ad vitandos ictus lati bolevardi ?
Ex Belleo. Veſtros magna manet, Suyffi, vergogna penachios,
Factos de caudis pollarum deque caponum,
Et de pavonum plumatis vermiculatis,
Qui veſtrâmque fidem qui veſtram Relligionem,
Fallere pro minimis, voluiſtis ſponte liardis,
Nominis obtentu regalis, qui modo Suyffi,
Non vos montagnis veſtris, tanto ære levarat ;
Cum veſtris magnis corſletis, atque braguetis,
Elegans Cacophonia. In varias fiffis, variante é ſorte, piecas,
Cum veſtris picquis tremulis, quæ ſtipite acuto
Semblabant cœlo velle exturbare tonantem ;
Ite, ite, ô trayſtri Ganelones, ite feroces,
Nec veſtras deinceps cóuillas atque braguetas

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Jactate, eſtis digni has vobis demetat enſis
Non ferri, at ſamius, qui tanto murmure facto,
Vos effeciſtis ſegetem, prædamque pitaldis,
Portarum gardis, ſpaliporcis, atque ribaldis, Epitheton vigneronum.
Invicti quondam laus et victoria Iuli.
Etquid de vobis dicemus poſtea Reiſtri,
Ante timor noſter? banieras, atque drapellos
Depoſcente ultro, vix bellatore, dediſtis;
An crimem ſuperûm tantum timuiſſe timentes?
Et pavidos pavidis, clypeum abjeciſſe triumpho?
Veſtras bombardas, coleurinas, artilieras,
Mortieros flutas, crocos, campagni-pieças,
Quas vos miſſifugas, quas veſprimatini fragidas, Figura quæ dicitur error ut plures ſimiles paſſim.
Purgatoricrepas, verum infernaliboletas,
Salpetros, porras, et totum mobile diabli,
Ferra infodiſtis; niſi vos ſeu grana ſemaſtis,
Illa revenirent, ut poſthac ubere gleba.
Reiſtræ, non Reiſtri, quanta hæc infamia ſeclis?
Vos Carli Magni ſanguis, tremefecit ovantes,
Qui tam olim veſtros draulavit ſæpè parentes,
Nomine vel ſolo, clamydis fricamine ſolo.
O Reiſtri, Reiſtri, Capitani ſive Magiſtri,
Accipite, ô deinceps, dextris in ſceptra foëttos;
Inque ſcolas, fœdo ſqualentes pulvere habite, O bene ad propoſitum.
Aut veſtro collo, tortos aptate colieros.
Vilia quæis nigra, pendatis corpora furca:
Fortuna certe vos digni non meliore,
Aut vos præcipites date Rheno, nam chariottos
Non veſtrum poſthac, per Gallica rura menare;
Quæ ſe paſſabunt de veſtris rite pavanis,
De veſtris monſtris, æratis de taborinis.

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Ex quæis ſoppaticos faciatis conſulo creuſos,
Ingenioſa chevilla. Aut chauderonos, brodiis ex jure ferendis,
Marmitaſve amplas, pedefirmas et reſonantes,
Quales Ciſterti, tornare novitia turba
Edocta, à miſſis et veſpris quando revenit.
Carmina de vobis, Jacopitæ, carmina cantant
Omnia de veſtrâ rumpuntur pulpita guerrâ,
Ha, ha, ha, eclatant, juncto ferme auribus, ore.
Que nigricantes, ſe proripuêre phalanges?
Figura aſinica. Nûm Deus his ſummo luxavit ab ethere mentem?
Extremum ſe ictum miſſæ, veniſſe ſonare
Chevilla longua. Dicebant ſed ſe tromparunt vel mage duplo,
Ad ternos, quartum tam vaſto marte ſonarunt:
Ut quam Luthardos môſtieris, quamque Hugonotos,
Et author Cacaſangue, per duos Vel 3 dies. Sacratis templis, nil ſit jam pene videre,
Qui preſſant alios, offrandis, atque vigilis,
Dicere quas faciunt, pro longa ætate trepaſſis,
Qui quondam vacuos repetunt ſedilia bancos,
Qui de velortis altaria, deque ſatinis,
Aſtricti magnâ jam relligione, tapiſſant,
Et faciunt mitras et cappas Virgomariis,
Nec benedicta ſatis, ſpargendis area tumbis,
Demiſſæve ſatis, tingendæ minguida, fronti,
Sintque augenda ſacro, veneranda ciboria victu;
Tanta in diſpoſitis iſtorum turba ſiegis.
Furtum ex billeo. Omnes incagant preſtri, monachique Reiſtros,
Illis gambadas faciunt, veſtamque panadas,
Poſtico ad naſum, gamba pif paſque levata.
Ite, ite æternis et vos abſcondite luſtris,
Quos non damnoſæ puduit mala turba cataſtæ,

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Nec de Germano deinceps vos ſanguine cretos
Jactate, ignotis eduxit cerva latebris.
Et quæ de veſtris, tandem dicenda balafris,
De veſtris caligis lardatis, deque alebardis,
Lanſquetti celeres, niſi ventris pondere tenti?
Rampartis noſtris, opera expectata veniſtis;
Vos per centenos paſſim excepere vilagi,
Et villæ nudos, religatis macte camiſis
Ad pauvras ſcapulas, glaciali frigore rougeas,
Monſtrantes toto miſeranda culamina mundo;
Ducentes veſtras Lanſquettas, cuniculoſas, Aptum epithoton.
Naturas fœno et pailla côurare coactas,
Pauvretas, vacuas, ſine pochis et potapiſſis,
Et ſine chodronis, lichefritis, atque chopinis,
Quæ laiſſaverunt faciendis piſothibaldis, Pro thibopifaldis.
Cum ſuda tota, craſſa cum erugine tota,
Abſque ſuis gallis, mangeavit quos ſibi gallus.
Horum gallorum, nuſquam hoſpes ante ſecurus:
Tanta uſquam vaſtis heu deſolatio terris?
Et chartam infamis ſcripti pudet, immeritamque
Se arguit; A noſtris longum diſcedite terris
Lanſquetti, Suyſſi, Reiſtri, mala razabrigantum,
Nomine in Henrici par vos trepidare. *Valeſi.*

FINIS.

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A MONSIEUR BORNITOUS.

J'AY leu les vers de voſtre Poète Bourguignon, que je vous renvoye avec petites notes; a fin que vous cognoiſſiez dequoy vous faites cas. J'avoy desja veu ſes verſions diſticaires des Quatrains de M. de Pibrac. C'eſt aſſez pour faire jugement de l'autheur, qui eſt je croy auſſi bon Catholique, que Poète; car il ſe moque à pleine gorge de ceux qui ont deffait les noſtres, et n'eſpargne pas les religieux de Ciſteaux. Surquoy m'eſtant retiré en ceſte ville pour me rafreſchir, j'ay fait à la haſte ce mot de reſponſe que je vous envoye, dont vous ferez part (ſ'il vous plaiſt) à vos amis. Adieu, de Dole, ce 6. Janvier 1588.

Voſtre bien preſt à vous obéir
Kransfelt.

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Ad Caguaſangam Joan. Bapiſtæ, (ſic) Lichiardi Poetæ Spaliporcini Reiſtrorum Macaronica defenſio, per Jo. Kransfeltum Germanum.

Ecce bonum numerum, Cagaſanguæ carmen ineptum
Adverſus Reiſtros, Lanſquettos, atque Suyſſos,
Neſcio quis nebulo dictavit terreviratus,
Qui fuerat nuper de relligione Diacrus,
Et riſu eclaſſat tanto, quod adeſſe putares
Agreſtes aſinos Phrygio ſub monte rudentes;
Sed magnum premit intereà ſub corde dolorem,
Malvaiſoque bonum ludo facit ille viſajum.
O ſi ſucceſſus noſtrique tuique fuiſſent
Ut penſabamus, non te, revirate, viraſſes,
Nomine nec ficto fieres Baptiſta, Papiſta:
Imo, incagares regi, regiſque miniſtris,
Nec pluris faceres grandis pergamina ſelli,
Quam faciunt griſæ Barbieri ſegmina barba.
Non marmotares in Templis Avemarias,
Primus ad offrandam non ires ferre denaros
Nec tu baiſares platinam, nec cernere velles,
Ad Miſſam drettis quod nunquam cernis ocellis,

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At nunc fortuna nobis tornante culamen,
Catholices cernens in nos habuiſſe defuſtum,
Boncompagnizas, vis de plus fortibus eſſe,
Et nos irrides renegata relligione,
Ad primum es ventum quam tu retinere paratus,
Ut jam feciſti teſtis fuſione relicta.
Pantoffla, egregium varia de mente trophæum
Quo teneam nodo mutantem Prothea vultus?
Qua potero fatuum brida fœnare cavallum?
Chancea tornata eſt paſſatis ſcilicet annis
Nos laudans tete dicebas de plus avantis
Priſatiſque minus, fiebas partimetitus,
Conſiliaque rius, ſed te ſperanza fefellit,
In ventos abiit quia Mipartita camera,
De qua non eſſes quamvis tamen illa fuiſſet,
Nam te dicebant Hugnotti non bene firmum.
Nunc de traverſo nos aſpicis atque choleram
Contra nos monſtras, et meſchantos galenones
Atque vocas traitros. O quæ mendacia dicis,
Te cape per naſum ſtropiati razza diabli,
Sunt veſtro ecce foco, ſed adhuc ſe nomine plures
Hoc jactant, puto quod tu Sis baſtardus eorum,
Nam defendis eos, ſicut defendis iniquas,
Ore miniſtrali et longo brouillamine cauſas:
Cur nos accuſas, et qua ratione trayſtros,
Dicis, quin potius ladros blaſmas Hugonottos,
Veſtros qui propriam cupiunt deſtruggere terram
Francorum et manibus baſtonum tradere blancum.
Non audes quia tu revirabilis es revirandus,
Et ſperas quod adhuc facies batifolia cœnæ.

Susio Fluvius piſciculis ſtroniferis abundans.

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Illi ſunt vere ladri groſſique brigantes
In quibus en-velles ſi vere Papiſticus eſſes,
Nam ſub trayſtroſis nos trompavêre parolis,
Et ſub Gallorum venerando nomine Regis,
Linquere ſuaſerunt patriam dulcéſque penates,
Subque eſtandardis nos ponere fleurde-liſorum
Ah! eſtandardis trayſtrosè falſificatis,
Fleurdiliſos ſiquidem barra violare parabant,
Regis, et a veſtris manibus transferre coronam,
Hancque ſuper craſſos Hugonotti ponere crines,
Inde ſuum contum faciebant perdere clergum
Fracaſſare ſacras Egliſas rumpere cunctos
Sanctos et ſanctas, Crucifixis parcere nullis,
Et calices platinas, aurata ciboria, cunctas
Denique relliquias teſtones reddere finos,
Frappando ſopra naſum Regiſque viſajum,
Vertereque aumuſſos forratos in cotilones,
Et cappis de velluceis taillare greguesquas,
In ſumma, totum ſubvertere mobile Chriſti,
Bragardi ut tantâ poſſent piafare ruinâ.
Non nos aſt illi dicebant artilerias.
Meſſifugas magnas de campagnáque piecas
Purgatorivomas, crepitumque horum eſſe ferebant,
Extremum Miſſæ Papiſtarumque ſonamen,
Et lætâ jam jam cantabant voce triumphum.
Sperabas quantum inter eos pillare butinum,
Certè in pillando non pars derriera fuiſſes,
Namque tuis griffis unglorum ſemper aguiſis
Griffares pluſquam chariotti mille tranarent.
Res hominum Deus aſt oculis qui conſpicis æquis,

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Deſeignos ſoto ſopra ruit veſtramque bravadam ;
Et fraudes veſtras jorno ſcouravit aperto,
Heu Calvinicolæ qualis mutatio rerum ?
Plorate et veſtrum patienter ferte dolorem,
Nam certe eſt ingens veſtris compaſſio rebus.
Credula gens nimium, fateor ſemperque fatebor,
Heu fuimus, minuat noſtram confeſſio pœnam ;
Veſtris credidimus vantoſis namque parollis.
Heu nobis quas ſpes Hugonotti propoſuerunt,
Has audite precor, ſitque alta mente repoſtum,
Oratio Hugonotorum. O Franci, ut tales traiſtros vitare queatis :
O proteſtantes dicebant terror et horror,
Francorum ad noſtram veniatis jammodo terram,
Cum vacuis veſtris chariotis abſque neanto,
Remportabitis hos nam plenos uſque crevatum,
Ad nozzas properate precor jam preſta vianda eſt.
Morcellos vobis taillatos invenietis,
Intrabunt boccam quando baillabitis intra,
Egregium vinum larmaſque bibetis ad uſque,
O quantum feſtum faciemus ! Tunc aït unus
E noſtris, qui Morguiſecæ cognoverat artem,
Heu vereor feſtum ne fiat Bartholominum,
Heu vereor nozzæ ne fiant Bartholominæ !
Tunc ſiluit gnotuſque ſuam perfecit harangam,
De peura jam papitolæ camiſia chauffas
Immerdant, illoſque omnes tuaremus ad unum,
Mille ſumus contra centum, ſit tantáque preſſa,
Noſtris in Templis quod driti cogimur eſſe,
Non ſont ſat banchi ſi quilibet eſſet aſiſſus.
At vos in partem prædæ appellamus, honeſte, ut
Germanos inter ſiat diviſio fratres,

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Et primum vobis tradentur ſub rivieris,
Sex groſſœ villœ vino bladoque refertæ,
In queis poſſitis graſſam dormire matinam,
Et tempus paſſando iſtos bravare Papiſtas,
Qui mox ſen-venient primum ad taratantara veſtræ
Trompetæ vobis mercitum a longe criare,
Inde ligatores nos boulverſabimus omnes.
Et Regem et Prinſos Lotharenos, denique cunctos,
Gentilhomos qui ſunt Papiſtæ ac idololatrœ,
Pellemus procul hinc ultra Garamantas et Indos;
Quantum de Monachis, Prœlatis, Cordiligatis,
Abbatibus, Carmis, Jacobinis et Jeſuitis
Qui contra ſancti Calvini dogmata, contra
Pontificem Bezam, tam clamavere licenter,
Per certum juro non pardonabimus ulli,
Tunc erimus Regni ſine compagnone magiſtri,
Et dabimus ſceptrum, Francam dabimúſque coronam
Uni de noſtris, Regnum cui fata dederunt,
Orbis et Imperium, ceu prœdixêre miniſtri,
Atque novi noſtra de relligione Prophetœ.
Hœc trompettabant miſere nos decipientes,
Spes hominum vanas, ô ſomnia vana furentum,
Namque ſuum abſque ſuo faciebant, hoſpite contum,
Heu poſtquam in Françam regionem venimus omnes,
Diſparuêre, niſi rognoſi quatuor aut ſex,
Qui cognoverunt manieras tam benè guerrœ,

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Quam bene in eſpeciis ſeſe cognoſcit aſellus,
Et ſapiunt melius palefrenos quam Capitanos.
Ullum non poterant ut aveugli ſcire caminum,
Et quod pejus erat de gueulla non erat ordo ;
Hiſque bravis ducibus ſtat res Hugnotta caditque.
Poſtea pipoſis ad nos venêre parollis
Dicere diſgraçam noſtram ſufferte parumper,
Adveniet tempus quo panes et bona vina
Sufficient, tunc nos ſic reſpondivimus illis :
Jejunus venter non audit verba libenter,
Daſti goth-chelmi vultis ruinare Kareſmam,
Et farcire gravi veſtros pinguedine ventres,
Et nos interea de ſolo vivere vento.
Uno ſi poſſent veſtri de pane Miniſtri,
Piſcibus atque tribus Reiſtrorum millia quinque
Paſcere, quintallo de fœni tótque cavallos ;
Egregium facerent miraclum hoc tempore dignum.
Iſti ſed Preti Geneuenſes publica paſſim,
Secretis qui ſcorta ſolent prœponere garſis,
Pillant de primis coffros ſerruraque rompunt,
Et quœrunt ſcutos cachatos ante milannos,
Calfaciunt femmis antiquis de pede plantas,
Ut dicant ubi mobilium pretioſa quieſcant :
Si juvenes fuerint, tunc preſto galantiter illas
Imbroccant, chaſſantque bonos à longe maritos,
Marritos nimium ſeſe cornare videntes,
Dicunt eſſe ſuos Cathechiſmos, Biblia, Pſalmos ;
In guerris enſes, poignardos, arciquebuſas,
Et Deus eſt ſolus Chriſtus piſtollifer illis,
Se quocunque ruunt nebulœ, nix greſla, bruïna,

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Horrida tempeſtas, tonitru paſſaſſe videntur.
Nil reſtat poveris Lanſqnettis atque Suyſſis,
Qui Laſſas trenant vix dum per compita gambas,
Et tranſperſatis pietonant imbre camiſis,
Sic quod de ſolo moriuntur mille giorno,
De ſame, de ſievris Cagaſanguis, ventridolere
Innumeriſque aliis cum vel ſine nomine morbis,
Qui mittunt animas hominum ſub perſa cathedræ,
Plutonis de qua plus nemo revertitur ad nos,
Hinc erat Henricus Regum fortiſſimus, inde
Lothareni aderant fratres duo fulmina belli
Guyſiadæ.
Qui nos ut gauffram inter ferrea bina tenebant.
Hugnotti interea ſoccorſum non faciebant:
Sed veluti brebias agnoſque ſub ore lupino,
Linguebant, quid erat nobis tunc quœſo fiendum?
Bellandum non eſt cum Divis more Gygantum,
Ergo tendidimus victas ad ſydera palmas,
Et Regem ut nobis pardonet voce priamus
Supplice, ſicut vos etiam feciſſe deceret.
Dicere pace tua liceat fortiſſime Regum;
Non tua non hominum eſt laus et victoria totam
Eſſe ſuam voluit qui pugnat ab æthere laudem.
Ille bonus Princeps noſtras capiendo prieras,
Accordat quod nos faciamus preſto retornum,
Deque bona guerra nos extra ducere regnum,
Fecit ubi ſalvi-ſauf pauci venimus omnes,
Qui ſalvat caudam non vaccam perdidit omnem,
Sic nos in patriâ gaudentes eſſe reverſos,
Leſchamus noſtras plagas, tantoſque nefandi,

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Authores ſceleris meritò execramur, et illos
Infernis, Erebi furiis diriſque vovemus.
Tam veniant veniant ſocoorſum quærere noſtrum,
Hi calvinicolæ poltrones atque trayſtri;
Non illis dabimus pro ſceptris arma pedantum,
Fefficulas virgas faciemus ſed ſuprafeſſis,
Pourpointis multas gaillardas trompetitatas
Dançare, in platea danſant ut ſœpe Molarda
Qui bene vicinas non baiſavêre comeras.
Sed quid in exemplum marmittas atque noviſſos,
Ciſterci ponis ſunt hœc puto maledicta figuræ
Rhetoricæ, unde ſuos farciſſant undique libros,
Quando deficiunt ſenſus ratioque, miniſtri
Tu ten-ſentis adhuc tua nec tamiſata farina eſt,
Non faciunt reſonare puto ſua pulpita Carmi,
De noſtro damno malheroſo nec Jacopitæ,
Eclatant tanquam ſtulti juncto auribus ore,
Tu facis hoc, faciunt Hugnotti ter revirati,
Dum grandeſpiti nequeunt celare dolorem.
O quam tu velles habuiſſemus meliorem,
Eſſes de noſtris, bombum facereſque Papiſtis,
Ut de Pictoto dicunt feciſſe viratos,
Qui Ducis audita Joyoſi morte robamen
Tornarunt, et ſe traytri decatholiquarunt.
Illis vos ergi Galline fidite ladris,
Annum quin fuerint Monachorum more probati
Quin agenouilliti cum torcha ardente repentent
In cœna morſos ſe tot mangeaſſe diabli,
Se renegaſſe Deum et Calvini dogma ſecutos,
Catholicíque boni tantùm credantur albora,

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Nec Macaroneo confidite carmine, cujus
Author plus mocquat Romanos Catholiquoſque,
Quam noſmet Reiſtros, Lanſqnettos, atque
Suyſſos.
Credunt quodque tuum facit indignatio verſum,
Scuta duo tibi qui conſtat pro prœla tirare,
Scribere marcheto poteras meliore niantum,
Expenſiſque tuis propriis te nemo, trufaret,
Talia ſi ſapias ne poſthac carmina ſcribas,
Sed ſis contentus Bourguigna voce pitaldos,
Delectare tui ſimiles rognoſaque verba,
Pro ſpaliporcinis vineronis ſcribere, ſive
Samphilibertœis (hœc eſt tua balla) puellis,
Nec te plus meſles de Græco, deque Latino,
Vel Macaroneo, vel franco idiomate, namque
Cœtera quœ ſcribis ſunt una digna litura,
Teſtes ſunt nobis tua carmina ſufficientes,
Queis dehonorafti Pibrachi pulchra quatrina,
Pro quibus ut preffis Pariſinis imprimerentur,
Imprimatori ſcutos bis quinque dediſti,
Et bis quinque iterum, populo ne venderet illa :
In ſyllabarum quia quantitate clochabant,
Grammaticoque dabant ſuffletos ſœpe donato,
Appello teſtes etiam iſtas Antiquitates
Dijonis, Gothicus quarum tu ferruminator,
Te monſtras ſine judicio ratione, rimaque,
Teſtis erit quoque ſufficiens Poltronius ille
Arbiter, in quo te tantum comprendere monſtras
Quantum in muſcoſo porcus cognoſcit odore.
De macaroneis, ſi quis larcinia trunquet
Bellœi, magnum facies cornicula riſum.

Clochitat hic verſus quia parlat de verſibus qui clochant.

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Debebas vantare tuos tantummodo verſus,
Sicut feciſti docto referente Chopino,
Cui commentus eras, te commentaria ſupra
Bourguignotorum couſtumas compoſuiſſe,
Nam ſic famoſus per inania ſcripta fuiſſes,
Si non in gerba ſaltem venerandus in herba,
Eſſe planum donec te ætas ventura probaſſet :
Hinc procul hinc ergo te vade Maraude cachatum,
Et tua ſcripta premant æterna ſilentia noctis.

Nous indiquerons ſeulement pour mémoire, deux autres poèmes macaroniques, auſſi très peu connus. L'un eſt ſur *les chemins de fer*. Il ſe compoſe de 143 vers, et fut compoſé vers 1840 par un membre diſtingué de Worceſter Collège, Oxford. Le ſecond eſt une ſatyre relative à l'éternel ſerpent de mer, facétie inventée par l'Amérique. Il a pour titre : *The Death of the Sea Serpent, by Publius Jonathan Virgilius Jefferſon Smith*, et ſe trouve dans le 22ème volume de Punch, N° du 27 Mars, 1852.

En parlant des Macaronées les plus

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rares, nous nous propoſions de citer des paſſages du *Carmen Arenaïcum* de Du Monin, et de *l'hiſtoria Braviſſima* de Jean Germain, dont Nodier poſſedait un exemplaire, mais toutes nos recherches n'ont pu nous apprendre dans quelle bibliothèque publique ou privée il exiſte un exemplaire de ces poèmes.

Pour completer cette eſquiſſe, et l'amener juſqu'au moment actuel, nous devons ne pas oublier un ouvrage publié à Hanover en 1855, par Oſkar Schade, in 8°, ſous le titre de *Fercula Macaronica*. C'eſt le dernier travail, à notre connoiſſance, qui ait paru ſur ce genre de compoſition littéraire.

L'auteur commence par diſtinguer, comme nous l'avions fait nous-même dans notre hiſtoire de la littérature Macaronique, le mélange de pluſieurs langues, ſi commun du 11ème au 13ème ſiècle, et la Macaronée proprement

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dite. Si l'on admettait ce mélange, dit-il, le plus grand poète en ce ſtyle, ſerait l'allemand Oſwald von Wolkenſtein, qui compoſa un poème dans lequel il combina ſept langues enſemble.

On trouve enſuite un aperçu très concis et ſans idées nouvelles, ſur la poéſie Macaronique, et les genres collatéraux. Il cite comme la plus ancienne macaronée allemande, une pièce de 16ème ſiècle: *Paſquillas auf des Proteſtierende Krieg ſeit* 1546.

Hans Sachs, ſans être un écrivain macaronique, inſéra quelques paſſages en ce ſtyle, dans trois ou quatre farces qu'il compoſa de 1552 à 56. Jean Fiſchart s'eſt auſſi adonné à cet amuſement philologique.

Ce que la brochure dont nous nous occupons, renferme de plus curieux, ce ſont deux pièces aſſez rares de la fin du XVIIème ſiècle. La première, qui parut en 1689, eſt intituleé: *Cer-*

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tamen Studioſorum cum vigilibus nocturnis. Elle ſe compoſe de 87 vers hexamètres.

En voici le commencement :

Burſa ſtudentorum cum tempore finſtere noctis
Cum Cytharis Gigiſque gaſſatim laufen et Harpfis
Inque ſteines hanen, thut feuer auſpringen ab ipſis :
Non aliter rabidi vigiles quam reiſſende Wolfi
Accurrunt celeres cum Prüglis, Penglis et Heblis,
Hiſque ſtudioſos antaſten illico verbis :
Ite domum, Schelmi ! ſonuit jam zwölfen ab uris.
At contra ſtudioſa cohors in talia trutzig
Verba ruunt Wächtriſque boren den eſel ab oren :
Trutz tibi ! Trutz aliis ! Ju hui ! Trutz omnibus iſtis !
Ac iterando magis Ju hui ! clamoribus altis
Cuncta movent Degorumque citant ſtridore vicinos.

* * * * * * *

La ſeconde pièce eſt une diſſertation académique burleſque, ſous le titre de : " Curiöſe Jnaugural diſpu- " tation von dem Rechs, Privilegiis

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" und Prærogativen der Athenien-
" ſiſchen Profeſſoren Purſchen wider
" die Bürger-Purſche und Commu-
" nitäter, welche unter dem Præſidio
" des durch und durch gelahrten
" Herrn Horribilii Pruſtii Renom-
" iſti &c &c pro gradu Profeſſorem
" Purſchico, privilegiiſque in hac
" dignitate rite capeſſendis in col-
" legio ſubterraneo, id eſt Studenten-
" Keller, horis ante et pomeridianis
" zur öffentlichen ventilation dar-
" geſtellet Cæcius Tappius Schling-
" ſchlangſchlorum."

Nous ne devons pas oublier de ſignaler aux curieux les deux poèmes macaroniques les plus étendus qui aient parus au XIX^{ème} ſiècle.

Il ſont publiés ſans lieu d'impreſſion ni date, et nous n'avons pu découvrir quel en eſt l'auteur. Le titre porte : *Rhapſodia verſu heroico macaronico ad Brantſuppam in nuptiis Butſchckio-Denickianis præſentata, a ſcholæ Dreſdenſis Petri alumno.*

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La première Rapſodie contient 376 vers, et la ſeconde eſt encore plus étendue. L'une ſe compoſe de ſix feuillet in 4°, l'autre de quatorze.

M. Oſkar Schade cite la plus courte toute entière. C'eſt une macaronée véritable allemande. Voici les quatre vers qui la terminent :—

Quod ſupereſt; Glaſum magnum Weinoque gefülltum
Rhenam læti in ſponſique ſuæque ſalutem
Brautæ ausſtechamus ! De Tiſcho ſurgite, Pfeifri !
Blaſite trompetas et Keſſli ſchlagite Pankas !

Nodier et tous les Bibliographes ont parlé du poème de Frey : *Recitus veritabilis ſuper terribili Eſmeuta payſanorum de Ruellio*, comme d'une des meilleures pièces du genre, et il va même juſqu'à l'appeler un Chef-d'œuvre. Néanmoins ce petit poème eſt tellement rare que les écrivains qui ſe ſont occupés de la

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littérature macaronique, n'ont pu en citer que quelques vers détachés. Sous ce rapport il mérite d'être reproduit ici.

En 1598 le Parlement de Paris porta un édit qui ordonnait aux habitants de Rueil, de conduire leur vin à la place de Grève à Paris, et leur interdisait entièrement de le vendre chez eux. La Maréchaussée de Paris fut envoyée à Rueil pour faire exécuter cet édit, et de là l'émeute décrite en vers macaroniques en 1599, par Frey, sous le pseudonime de Samon Faillyona. Nous sommes assurés que les amateurs de la belle latinité, liront avec plaisir cette macaronée, une des plus élégantes des pièces de ce genre, à base purement française.

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RECITUS VERITABILIS

SUPER TERRIBILI ESMEUTA

PAYSANORUM DE RUELLIO.

Auctore SAMON FAILLYONA,
Jano Cœcilio FREY.

NOBILISSIMO CONSULTISSIMOQUE SENATORI
LAYNAYO.

Ruſtica barbaricis deſcribo verſibus arma,
Nempe, quod agreſtes carmen agreſte decet,
Hæc cape, Lainœe, auguſti pars magna ſenatûs :
Nil potuit melius rus tibi ferre meum.

Eſmeuta Ruellica.

ARCHEROS piſtoliferos, furiamque manantum,
Et grandem eſmeutam, quæ inopinum facta
Ruellæ eſt,
Toxinumque alto troublantem corda clochero
Totius populi, quodque eſt miſerabile dictu,
Troublantem parvos incinctæ in ventre parentis,
Ac preſtres omnes, hardito carmine dicam.

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Muſæ nudipedes, ſeu vos ad littora Chatou
Gardetis vaccas, ſeu dejeunetis in agris,
Seu potius vos nocturno brandone LENACI
Bouchonnare juvat vites, grappaſque volare,
Dicite, cur animis tantæ vigneronibus iræ?

Mos fuit ancienus de toto tempore ſemper
Gardatus (veluti munduſque bonæque racontant
Gentes, quique ſuæ jam ſunt in limine foſſæ
Viellardi), in pagis circum villam fituatis,
In maiſone ſua cueillitum vendere vinum.
Nullus facheuſo muyos menare chemino
Debuit ad Grevam: ſed lætus ſpontè Ruellam
Mercator veniens, bellâque bonâque monetâ
Cuvâ vendangis achetabat vina peractis.
Heu! bonum ubi eſt tempus, cum ſpes dulciſſima nutrix
Agricolis falſum nolebat jouere bondum
Sed Parlamentum, quo non parlantius ullum,
Terque renommatum conſilieriſque jugiſque,
Ut villæ audivit rationes atque raportos,
Indommagaret mos hic quod granditer ipſam,
Marchanteſque alios, qui in Grevâ vendere debent.
Partibus auditis, coſtumam caſſat, et omnes
Debotat, contra vellent quicunque venire.
Hoc pendente, petit burgos inhoneſta vicinos
Pauperies, orphelinos tardamque ſenectam,
Et veſuas nigrâ portantes veſte devillum
Atque famem macies jouis, oculiſque cavatis
Menans ſecum, omneſque ruas clamoribus implens.

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" O grandis pietas ! tot tantoſque eſſe volores,
Pro affamatos poſt nos, poſt noſtra valores,
Qui velut horrendis inrageati oribus urſi,
Nos veluti tendros mangeant crudeliter agnos,
Nos ſoli ferimus paiſumque æſtumque diei.
Ipſi mignones garnitæ in ſedibus aulæ
Entretenunt garças, baſtonanteſque laquaijos,
Chicanant mundum, pillant et cuncta ſacageant.
Hoc unum miſeris reſtabat vendere vinum
In preſſore, ipſi nobis ante ora parentum,
Heu ! vitam nobis noſtriſque infantibus otant !"

Taliter hurlantis tactus puſietate LENACUS,
Creditum ter maximum habens in corte LENACUS,
Paupere pro mundo cunctos implorat amicos,
Et viride, et ſiccum, et totos ſantos Paradiſi,
Demonſtrans vive foulati incommoda peupli,
Pertaſque inſignes et non reparabile damnum.

Cuncta nihil : nec unum ſervirunt omnia clavum,
Curia nam penitus nullâ eſbranlabilis arte eſt,
Firmaque demorat, ceu durus, curia, roccus.
Hoc pendente, malum quo non eſt grandius ullum,
Credulitate potens, et ſeditione clabaudans,
Spargit inauditos mendax diſcordia bruitos ;
Nam cantat veluti cives, primuſque LENACUS
Nil aïdent, ſed ſe moquentque gabentque
Et de facto habeant miſeris contraria corda,
Et quod ſollicitent nulla façone proceſſum ;
Et dedignentur ſolum UNO aſſiſtere moto.

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His igitur plainctis mens eſt ægrita manantum.
Sicuti cum Siri Janni chambriera ſaladam
Per minimum depluchatis accommodat herbes :
Omnia piccanti parat et facit ægra vinegro.
Non aliter controvatis Diſcordia dictis,
Ægrivit fallax biberonæ corda Ruellæ.

Et quid demandas, paucorum raza virorum ?
Quid penſas tu ? LENACO librare guerram ?
Illius num tu veluti poſcribere vites
Ex mottâ et paleâ ſtructis bouchonibus audes ?
Scalato brandonatas reſiniſque volatas ?
Arrachere cepos et abandonnare cuique
Vignam quæ hebræum toties ebriavit OTHONEM ?

Nec mora, foudroyans, ſacrâ excommunio voce
Jettatur, ſimul in magnâ querimonia miſſâ.
Egliſamque novo ſpouvantavêre periclo :
Ingreſſique chorum, venerandâ ubi veſte ſacerdos
Dicturus Miſſam fuerat, populoque frequenti,
Imprudemmenter meſlârunt ſacra prophanis,
Terribili minitando oculo, fieroque regardo,
Effroyabiliter commençavêre criare,
Jam proclametur, jamque excommunio paſſet
In cunctos penitus vignerones atque rebelles.

Extemplo eſmeutæ ſignum toxinus ab altâ
Turre ſtrepens, rauco caſſatæ murmure clochæ,
Tin-tan-tin iterans, *don don don don*que ſonabat.
Extemplo effroyati animi, quivis maiſone relictâ,
Indomiti accurrunt, magno ſimul omne tumultu
Troublatur querulo vulgus, jeuneſſaque brayans

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Effera, griſonique ſenes, pleuroſaque femma,
Et trepidæ matres embraſſavêre puellas,
Multa reprochantes ægris groſſiſque parolis :
" Voſ-ne, canes, noſtris auſos ſuccedere tectis ?
Et vaſtare ſacris benedictas preſtribus aras ?
Unius ob vignæ grappas iramque LENACI ?
Sed qua ſe nigro nigriores dæmone credunt,
Cum ſunt à reliquo ſejuncti corpore Egliſæ,
Hinc minitabundi monitum empeſchare ſecundam
Entreprenant, potiuſque pretrum detrudere cheſa,
Quam repetita eadem ſacro ſententia prono
Dicatur celebri aſſemblæ feſtoque dimanchæ.
Aſt indignati mens irritata LENACI
Empeſchamentis pariter vult ire devantum.

Villâ in Pariſiâ brava eſt compagnia fratum
Papilloniadum, docta eſcrimare ſcienter
Poignardis, hallabardis, ſpadiſque duabus,
Archeroſque inter longe celeberrima totos,
Non eſt prævoſtus BLÆSARUM audacior illis.
Prævoſtuſque Iſlac non hardimenter ut ipſi
Invadit malfaiſantes, non guetus ita enſem
Igne reluiſantem, piſtoletoſque tirabit :
Nullus amorçatis ſic mouſquetat harquebuziis,
Indomptabiliter tantâ quoque nemo viteſſâ
Plurima larronum brigantumque acta coërcet.
Hìc cane abatuto ſimul ut venêre Ruellam,
Louangem vero grandem grandemque butinum
Gagnatis, quando armati domptatis inermes ;

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At noſtræ vignæ veſtris ſunt proïa laquayis,
Nec unum dicemus motum, et moriemur inulti?
Nos, durante liguâ, contra defendimus hoſtem:
Jamque reveſtiti nos gueuſi impunè tuabunt!
Nos ità; per carnem, teſtam, ſanguinemque
ſacratum
Non ita; per totos centum millena diablos!"

Sic ſuper Archeros ſeſe jettantque ruuntque,
Et jam ſaxa volant frondis excuſſa manuque;
Saxa frequens animoſarum quæ turba puellarum
Aggerit, et plenis tablieris geſta miniſtrat.
Non ità crebra crepat ſuper altis greſla tuillis
Ut cracat in dorſis volitantum greſla pierarum.
Nec minus interea tornans archerica bridam
Squada furit, diro et criat ore: Tuate! tuate!
Et tirat adverſum carabinas cominus hoſtem.

Aſt vigneronii acies bene ſerrato agmine facto,
Objicit occluſam portis et mœnibus urbem,
Fuyanteſque fugat jamjam, fugitque viciſſim.
Nec mora, nec requies, donec domus ipſa LE-
NACI
Archeros capiens, ſerruris cuncta verouillat.

Hic novus inſurgit ſaxis, velut ariete crebro,
Injectis horror, pierrarum branſlat acervo
Porta ruinantum, tremit alto vertice murmur.

Et niſi nox ſolito citius venuta fuiſſet,
Atque appaiſâſſet ſanglantem ſola furorem,
Omnia de fundo in cumulum perduta fuiſſent.

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Pour qu'on ne nous accuſe pas d'avoir accordé trop de place à des amuſements philologiques, terminons par l'opinion d'une des gloires de la Bibliographie, Charles Nodier : Je regarde ces ingénieuſes fantaiſies (les Macaronées) comme un des objects les plus importants des études d'un linguiſte, par la multitude d'archaïſmes curieux, de termes de vieux patois, et de locutions originales et caractériſtiques dont elles contiennent, à l'excluſion de toute autre eſpèce de livre, l'ineſtimable dépôt, et je ne ſaurais trop déplorer l'injuſte dédain dans lequel elles ont été tenues par quelques philologues.

Elles compoſent, de même que les patois, un véritable monument lexicologique, digne de tout l'intérêt des ſavants, qui ne les protégeront jamais avec trop de zèle contre le puriſme dédaigneux des gens de collège.

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ADDENDA.

Page 8.

Voici la Macaronée inédite, publiée par M. Deſbarreaux-Bernard, dans les Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouſe; ce ſont des diſtiques adreſſées (au 17ème ſiècle) à une beauté cruelle par un amant malheureux :—

Fiertatem dominæ, ſed fiera ſi fuit unquam,
  Racontare tibi me capit invidia.
Sed tu te trompas ſi penſas legere verſus
  Tam bellos quàm quos blondus Apollo facit.
Nunquam ego, quod ſapiam, bibi de fonte ſacrato
  Nomatur cujus hippocrenenſis aqua.
Nunquam ego, quod ſapiam, feci galopare Pegaſum,
  Nam ruit, atque ſatis non ego firmus equo.
Sufficit ut ſcribam quales mihi paſſio dictat,
  Qualicumque modo verſus amantis erunt.
Si facio faltas, faltas et oportet amanti
  Perdonare, facit quod ſibi neſcit amans.
Jam ter zodiacum Phœbus paſſaverat ex quo
  Illius flammas ſenſerat alma mea.
Nullus capo fuit benè tam roſtitus ad ignem
  Roſtitum medio pectore quàm cor erat.
Quandò prochus eram dominæ ſuſpiria quinta
  Pulſabam? ah cùm memini, cor mihi certè crebat!
Fecibus ah quantis anavi viſere fieram
  Abſque quod auſarem dicere mala mea.
Soiribus ah quantis fieram haud potendo videre
  Contentus portam potonejare fui.

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Hac ſolamenter ſolieiros ſtate capelli
Ejus gaſtavit ſex carïera mihi.
Si quas pro fiera ſuffrivi ſcribere pœnas
Totas nunc vellem et tormina paurus ego,
Non mihi baſtaret plumarum quidquid in orbe
Ancræ vel papyri eſt, erit atque fuit.
Scribere nunc baſtat, fiera hæc fieriſſima mundi eſt,
Inter galantes et mage firmus ego.
Sed poſt tot pœnas rocum tocare potentes
Toccaviſſe putans carnea corda fillæ,
Paurus haſardavi fieræ meæ dicere mala,
Sed mihi coſtavit grandia mala magis.
Inter fiera duos me reguardavit ocellos,
Grandi in talento os ut roſigando canis.
Cridavi at ſubitò veſtros changeate reguardos;
Hoc meritavit amor, quem tibi porto malum?
An ſic fiera facis tot poſt ingrata dolores,
Hæc ſuffrimenti eſt debita paga mei?
Sed me interrupit, benè, dixit, trovo placentem
Ut venias triſti rumpere voce caput:
Dicere te ſemper, non poſſum ferre cruëlam
Et fieram fieram te repetare mihi;
Quiſve tuum ſemper morientem ſerves ocellum,
Sive oculum qualem mortua cabra facit?
Incepi dulces tunc reſpondere parolas,
Addolcita eſſet aſpera ronſa quibus;
Sed veluti accenſo buliens marmita gavello
Protinùs in focum fervida verſat aquas,
Me voce horribili, ſortito oculoque caçola
Proh ſemper miſerum congediavit ea.
Non mage ſtonatus clochæ mancante metallo
Gaſtatum fundens eſt opus ante ſuum.
Sic ſtomachatus ego reſtabam cum pede naſi,
Immobilis tanquam ſtatua bronſinea,

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Et cavaliſcando vicibus mihi millibus ipſa
Sortivit cambra, meque quitavit ibi.
Aſt velut tornans aliquo poſt tempore ſonjo
Altis in terram nubibus atque cadens,
Sæpè balançavi anarem ſi rurſùs ad illam
Seu fieram hanc mallem mittere dæmonio.
In me dicebam, luſit malum tibi tornum,
Fecitque affrontem ſenſibilem nimium.
Hanc debes laiſſare, parum ſi reſtat honoris
Indignum eſt hominis tam tolerare fillas.
Poſteaque in fieram cantabam pulia mille,
Et veniat rabies et cagaſanguis ei.
Vix has horribiles acababat lingua parolas,
Cum ſentivi aliquid corde gratare mihi.
Hoc mihi ſemblavit tantam reprochare viteſſam,
Et non ſe ſtatim rendere poſſe fillas;
Dicebatque mihi tantò magis eſſe cruelas
Quam mage dæmonius pectore battit eas.
Tumque rapetabam fieræ belloſque capillos
Et bellam faciem, et cætera bella mihi.
Illa videbatur rienum debere deeſſæ,
Quam genuit Cyprii bella coquilla maris;
Sique fuiſſet ea doratæ tempore pomæ,
Et pomam paſtor ſponte dediſſet ei.
Talia ſunt almæ nunc ſentimenta flotantis
Inter ſperanças atque deſeſperium.
Sæpè diableſſam ſpero flechire pregando;
Sæpè rechignoſas tremblo videre cilhas..
Manda penſadam, ex puncto promitto ſeguire,
Nec magis altus eâ, nec mage baſſus ero.

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Tout récemment nous avons trouvé par haſard un poème intitulé ; *Unio, ſive Lamentatio Hibernica, Poema Macaronico-Latinum ; an Ode to Peter Pindar. Londini, typis Bunney and Gold impreſſum.* 1801. 16 pages in 4°.

Cette macaronée, que nous croyons très rare, et dont nous n'avons jamais vu faire mention nulle part, eſt un argument de plus à l'appui de l'opinion que c'eſt ſurtout la ſatire politique et religieuſe qui à donné l'élan a ce genre de compoſition. La *Lamentatio hibernica* eſt une ſanglante critique dirigée contre le Miniſtre Pitt, et contre l'adminiſtration Anglaiſe appliquée à l'Irlande, par ſuite de l'Union. Ni dans les ouvrages hiſtoriques ou politiques ſur cette interminable queſtion, ni dans les auteurs qui ſe ſont occupés de la poéſie macaronique nous n'avons vu citer cette pièce qui cependant à de la verve et du mouvement. Elle ſe termine par une ode ſatirique contre le poète connue ſous le nom de Peter Pindar.

Une courte introduction donne une nouvelle étymologie du mot Macaronée : *Verbum hoc Macaronicum derivatum eſt ex Græco* Μακαρων, *quaſi felicium rerum conjunctio, or Happy Mixture.*

Pour donner un exemple du ſtyle de ce

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poème, nous en citerons la deſcription d'un club, jadis célèbre dans Pall-Mall.

Stat domus, occiduâ Londini parte, Palati
Mœnibus haud procul, Dux inclytus olim.
Nunc genus ignavum, confuſaque turba frequentat,
Bond-ſtreet loungers, Gameſters cum cruribus albis,
Et nigris, vini potores, et Politicians,
Ex-Miniſters, Miniſters, in ſhort, hic *Union* eſt Club.
Noctes atque dies patet omnis janua ſporti,
Quâ juvenes Cartos inter diceſque prolongant
Horas, et dullum contrivant killere tempus.
Hic ludis Cyathiſque juvat conſumere noctem,
Mane domum redeunt yawnantes et ſemidrunki,
Head-achibus miſerè lugentes, heart-achibuſque.
Serius, ah quoties, argenti pondera et auri
Plorant, non iterùm reditura pocketibus emptis!
Hic Sheridan, Whitbread, ille et Norfolkius Hero,
Qui majeſtatem populi, Foxique ſalutem
Ter ternis celebrat cheeris, et bumpere largo.
Hic et Egotiſtes longum tenet argumentum
Erſkinius, nulli gabbœ virtute ſecundus,
Primus et orator ſe judice Weſtminſter Hallo.
Hic et qui tragicos audet componere verſus,
Valdè parvus homo, quamvis ſit proudus, an Earl too:
Humanam[1] nuper pompoſo carmine gentem
Scilicet, et ſœvas ſweatavit ſadly Novercas,
Witchibus infernis, furiiſque agitatus et audax,
Cum multis aliis quos nunc deſcribere longum eſt.
Hic utinam Pittus, reclans, humeriſque recumbens

[1] Vide The Stepmother, a tragedy by Lord Carliſle:

" The human race has undergone a ſweating,
As has our coin," &c.

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Dundaſſi broadis, O fightum delicioſum!
Inſani fumis whiſkeyi toxificatus,
Non generous port wine, plenâ cadat ebrius aulâ;
Totaque miretur Pitti vicinia downfall,
Upliftis oculis! Placidâ nec morte quieſcat.
Dira cano, horreſco referens miſerabile fatum,
Dii precor, hoc noſtrum faciles audite requeſtum,
Dii precor, infami cantatus Pindare ſortem
Ploret, in eternum moriturus, fix'd on a book-ſtall.

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BOSWELLIANA.

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THE Volume from which the following pages have been tranſcribed is probably one of many note-books left by the biographer of Johnſon. It contains ſeveral ſheets filled with anecdotes and obſervations of the moſt various character, written without order, and generally without dates. At the end are inſerted many ſcraps of paper and backs of letters, on which Boſwell has jotted down memoranda of ſtories and reflections.

I have limited this ſelection to anecdotes perſonal to the writer, and to his own remarks on men and things. They are, I conceive, amuſing in themſelves, and characteriſtic of a man of letters whoſe rank, as an author, is due rather to his moral

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than to his intellectual qualifications. The lively vanity that ſharpened his own ſelf-conceit was cloſely akin to that genial appreciation of wit and worth in others which has made him the moſt delightful of biographers; and the unconſciouſneſs of his own weakneſſes, here ſo patent, has permitted him to record thoſe traits and incidents which a more critical affection would have only perceived to conceal, but which the lover of hiſtoric reality may eſteem and enjoy, not only without diſparagement to the hero, but with a ſympathetic and almoſt perſonal intereſt that the moſt elaborate or even eloquent narrative often fails to ſupply.

Theſe fragments alſo ſeem to me to exhibit that analogy of character which eſpecially fitted Boſwell to be the friendly devotee and intellectual ſervitor of Dr. Johnſon: nor can theſe reſemblances of ſtyle and man-

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ner be regarded as mere parodies of his maſter, but rather as illuſtrating a mental harmony, which enabled him to reproduce with ſingular fidelity his own ideal of all that was good and great.

I am unable to determine whether the anecdotes of his own contemporaries, which make up the reſt of this manuſcript, may not have appeared elſewhere: I have recognized ſome of them myſelf as old acquaintances, and I have therefore not choſen to print others, which, although intereſting and illuſtrative of the men and manners of the time, may perhaps be well known. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that there are not a dozen which concern Dr. Johnſon, and theſe are not in any way memorable.

R. M. M.

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BOSWELLIANA.

Lord Auchinleck and his ſon were very different men. My Lord was ſolid and compoſed; Boſwell was light and reſtleſs. My Lord rode very ſlow. Boſwell was one day impatient to get on, and begged my Lord to ride a little faſter; "for," ſaid he, "it is not the exerciſe that fatigues me, but the hinging upon a beaſt." His father replied, "What's the matter, man, how a chield hings, if he dinna hing upon a gallows?"

My father had all along, ſo firm, ſo dry a mind, that religious principles, however carefully inculcated by his father and mother, and however conſtantly they remained on the ſurface, never incorporated with his thoughts, never penetrated into the ſeat of his affections. They were a dead range, not a quickſet hedge; the fence had a good appearance enough and was ſufficiently ſtrong, but it never flouriſhed in green luxuriance, never bloſſomed, never bore fruit. The ground within, however, produced plentiful crops of uſeful exertions as a judge, and improvements as a (Laird) landed Gentleman. And let it be conſidered that there may be a fine fence round barren, unprofitable land. 24th Sepr, 1780.

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Lord Auchinleck was one of the moſt firm and indefatigable judges that ever lived. Brown at Utrecht ſaid, "He was one of thoſe great beams that are placed here and there to ſupport the edifice of ſociety."

Lord Auchinleck ſaid, "The great point for a Judge is to conduct a cauſe with ſafety and expedition, like a ſkilful pilot. The agents always endeavour to keep a cauſe afloat; but I keep my eye upon the haven, and the moment I have got him fairly in order, I give one hearty puſh, and there he is landed."

Boſwell was preſented to the Duke of Argyll, at Whitton, in the year 1760. The Duke talked ſome time with him, and was pleaſed, and ſeemed ſurpriſed that Boſwell wanted to have a Commiſſion in the Guards. His Grace took Boſwell's father aſide, and ſaid; "My Lord, I like your ſon; that Boy muſt not be ſhot at for three and ſix-pence a day."

When Boſwell had the rage of getting into the Guards, he talked of it to John Home, whoſe poetry breathed a martial ſpirit, and therefore might approve his deſire to be a ſoldier. "Sir," ſaid John Home, "the Guards are no ſoldiers, they are juſt Beef-eaters, only they don't eat beef."

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Boſwell compared himſelf to the ancient Corinthian braſs. "I am," ſaid he, "a compoſition of an infinite variety of ingredients. I have been formed by a vaſt number of ſcenes of the moſt different natures, and I queſtion if any uniform education could have produced a character ſo agreeable."

Captain Erſkine complained that Boſwell's hand was ſo large, that his letters contained very little. "My lines," ſaid Boſwell, "are like my ideas, very irregular, and at a great diſtance from each other."

My freind[1] Johnſtone, adviſed me to have my family creſt, a Hawk, cut upon a pebble which I found in the channel of the Lugar, which runs by Auchinleck. Said he, "let him perch on his native ſtone."

When Boſwell was a young, giddy, frolicſome Dog, in London, a parcel of ſarcaſtical Scots, dining at Almack's, were enlarging much on his imprudence. "I don't know," ſaid Dempſter, "how Boſwell may do in this world, but I am ſure he would do very well in a better."

Boſwell complained that he had too good a memory in trifles, which prevented his remembering things of conſequence. "My head,"

[1] Sic in MS.

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ſaid he, " is like a Tavern, in which a club of low punch-drinkers have taken up the room that might have been filled with Lords that drink Burgundy ; but it is not in the landlord's power to diſpoſſeſs them."

Boſwell, who had a good deal of whim, uſed not only to form wild projects in his imagination, but would ſometimes reduce them to practice. In his calm hours he ſaid, with great good humour, " There have been many people who built caſtles in the air, but I believe I am the firſt that ever attempted to live in them."

Boſwell was talking away one evening in St. James's Park with much vanity. Said his friend Temple, " We have heard of many kinds of hobby-horſes, but, Boſwell, you ride upon yourſelf."

Erſkine and Boſwell were one day ſauntering in Leiceſter-field, and talking of the famous ſcheme of ſquaring the circle. " Come, come," ſays Boſwell, " let us circle the Square, and that will be as good." So theſe two Poets took a walk round the Square, laughing heartily at the conceit.

Boſwell had a great averſion at the Law, but forced himſelf to enter upon that laborious profeſſion, in compliance with the anxious deſire of his father, for whom he had the greateſt re-

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gard. After putting on the gown, he ſaid with great good-humour to his brother advocates, "Gentlemen, I am preſt into the ſervice here, but I have obſerved that a preſt man, either by ſea or land, after a little time, does juſt as well as a volunteer."

I always wiſhed to go to the Engliſh bar. When I found I could labour, I ſaid it was a pity to dig in a lead mine, when I could get to a gold one.

I am, for the moſt part, either in too high ſpirits, or too low. I am a grand wreſtler with life; it is either above me, or I am above it. Yet there are calm intervals in which I have no ſtruggle, but life and I go quietly on. Feb^{y}. 1777.

I have not an ardent love for parties of pleaſure; yet am I once engaged in them, no man is more joyous. The difference between me and one who is the promoter of them, is like that between a water dog and an ordinary dog. I have no inſtinct prompting me. I never go into the water of my own accord; but throw me in, and you will find that I ſwim excellently.

The difference between ſatire in London, and in Scotland, is this: in London you are not intimately known; ſo the ſatire is thrown at you from a diſtance, and however keen, does not tear and mangle you, as when you are

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hacked and hewed with a coarſe weapon cloſe to you. In London the attack on character is clean boxing: in Scotland it is grappling. They tear your hair, ſcratch your face, get you down in the mire, and not only hurt, but disfigure and debaſe you.

I wrote to Dempſter from Edinburgh, 13th Decr. 1779. "I am in good ſpirits, but you muſt not expect entertainment from me. The moſt induſtrious bee cannot make honey without flowers. But what are the flowers of Edinburgh?"

My wife was angry at a ſilk cloak of Veronica being ill made, and ſaid it could not be altered. "Then," ſaid I, "it muſt be a Perſian cloak," alluding to the ſilk called Perſian, and the unalterable Perſian law. 1780.

I can more eaſily part with a good ſum at once, than with a number of ſmall ſums; with a hundred guineas, rather than with two guineas at fifty different times, as one has leſs pain in having a tooth drawn whole, than when it breaks, and is pulled out in pieces.

At Sir John Dick's, Sunday, 8th May, 1785, I made the gentlemen ſit and drink out ſome capital old Hock, after the ladies left us. When I came into the drawing room, and was ſeated by the lady of Sir Matthew White Ridley, ſhe

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ſaid to me, "We ladies don't like you when you have drank a bottle of Hock, becauſe you then tell us only plain truth." "Bravo," cried I, "Lady Ridley, this ſhall go into my Boſwelliana; it is one of the beſt *bon mots* I have heard of a long time; it goes deep into human nature."

Monſr D'Ankerville paid me the compliment that I was the man of genius who had the beſt heart he had ever known; [inſtancing] Monteſquieu, Voltaire, Rouſſeau. Monſieur ſaid, "à l'ordinaire l'eſprit brule le cœur."

Talking of myſelf to Abbate Cotti, a Corſican prieſt, and regretting that the King had not yet promoted me, I ſaid, "Monſieur, il ne me manque que la baſe. Je ſuis déjà la ſtatue."

My journal is ready; it is in the larder, only to be ſent to the kitchen, perhaps truſſed and larded a little.

Dr. Burney ſaid he hoped I was now come to plant myſelf in London. "I will bring the watering pan," ſaid he.

"I'll have ſome of the other ſoup too; were there a hundred ſoups, I ſhould eat of them all." "I am ſorry," ſaid Mrs. —— very pleaſantly, "ours comes ſo far ſhort of your number."

Boſwell was one day complaining that he

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was ſometimes dull. "Yes, yes," cried Lord Kames, "Homer ſometimes nods." Boſwell being too much elated with this, my lord added, "Indeed, ſir, it is the only chance you have of reſembling Homer."

At Chelſea College dinner, 29th May, 1783, Sir George Howard, the Governor, drank to the memory of Charles II., the Founder, and then to the glorious and immortal memory of William III., its laſt Royal Benefactor. Mr. Burke, who uſed to joke with Mr. Boſwell as a friend to the Houſe of Stuart, obſerved, that no notice had been taken of James II., whoſe name is ſtill inſcribed upon the college of the benefactor. Mr. Boſwell then ſaid, from the connection of the word *medio* with that Prince as the middle King who had promoted that inſtitution, "Sir George, you are unmindful of *medio tutiſſimus ibis*." Sir George anſwered very juſtly, he "did not underſtand that maxim."

Rather than borrow one half-guinea from Lord —— I would borrow ten ſhillings of ten chairmen, and the odd ſixpence of a ſhoe-black.

My freinds[2] are to me like the cinamon tree, which produces nutmeg, mace, and cinamon. Not only do I get wiſdom and worth out of them, but amuſement. I uſe them as the Chineſe do their animals; nothing is loſt there;

[2] Sic in MS.

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a very good diſh is made of the pooreſt parts: ſo I make the follies of my freinds ſerve for a deſert, after their valuable qualities.

My only objection to living in London is, that there is too much ſpace and too little time.

Lord Mountſtuart ſaid it was obſerved I was like Charles Fox. "I have been told ſo," ſaid I. "You're much uglier," ſaid Colonel James Stuart, with his ſly drollery. I turned to him full as ſly and as droll, "Does *your* wife think ſo, Colonel James?" Young Burke ſaid, "Here there was leſs meant than meets the ear."

When Wilkes and I ſat together, each glaſs of wine produced a flaſh of wit like gunpowder thrown into the fire, Puff! Puff!

When I was warm, telling of my own conſequence and generoſity, my wife made ſome cool, humbling, remark upon me. I flew into a violent paſſion; I ſaid, "If you throw cold water upon a plate of iron much heated, it will crack into ſhivers."

The honourable Mrs. Stuart, in a pretty expreſſive manner, told me that ſhe had fairly aſked a reſpectable freind if he had ever been unfaithful to his wife, and that he anſwered; "No! madam, never: I muſt not allow myſelf to run any riſk of liking another woman

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better than my wife." This, ſhe told me, as an inſtance of exemplary fidelity, not without a ſly reference to the licences of her huſband the Colonel, and myſelf. I turned it off, I think, with a pretty ingenious readineſs. Said I, "He has not been ſo certain of loving his wife as ſome others of us. We are ſo conſcious of inviolable affection and regard, that we are not afraid of little riſks." Richmond, 27th April, 1781.

Uxoriana.[3]

She recommended reading the Arabian Nights' Entertainments to one in bad health and low ſpirits; "not," ſhe ſaid, "to be taken into the mind, but to keep out diſturbing thoughts. Let them be like a ſentry whom we do not admit into the chamber of a ſick perſon, but place at the door to prevent noiſy intruders."

She diſapproved of my inviting Mr. M—ſh, a man of ability but of violent manners, to make one in a genteel party at our houſe one evening. "He is," ſaid ſhe, "like fire and water—uſeful, but not to be brought into company."

Dr. Grant aſked if Mr. Mac-adam, of Craig-

[3] Sic in MS.

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engillan, had but one daughter? I ſaid, "he had, properly ſpeaking, but one beautiful daughter, the other poor girl was very ugly." My wife ſaid, "it was hard that want of good looks ſhould make her not be reckoned his daughter; ſhe was more a daughter on that account, as being more likely to continue with him."

My wife ſaid it would be much better to give ſalaries to members of Parliament, than to let them try what they can get off their country by places and penſions. Said ſhe, "They are like oſtlers and poſtillions, who have no wages, and muſt ſupport themſelves by vails."

My Son Alexander.[4]

1783.

One day in December, when in a paſſion at his ſiſter Phenice for ſomething ſhe had ſaid, he had this ſtrong expreſſion: "Phenice, if your tongue be not cut out, it will ſoon be full of lies."

1784.

Jan^{y} 7th. He underſtood that there was a violent oppoſition to the King, and he imagined Sir Philip Ainſlie was on that ſide. He ſaid, "The King ſhould ſend meſſengers to diſcover

[4] Sic in MS.

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all that are againſt him. That would ſoon turn Sir Ralph Ainſlie's brain right."

Jan^{y} 10th. He complained that his brother James beat him. Grange ſaid, "he ſhould not mind him, as he was but a child." "Ay," ſaid he, "but he muſt not be a big man to me." (Alluding to the weight of his blows.)

A ſtupid fellow was declaiming againſt that kind of raillery, called roaſting, and was ſaying, "I am ſure I have a great deal of good nature, I never roaſt any." "Why, Sir," ſaid Boſwell, "you are an exceeding good-natured man, to be ſure, but I can give you a better reaſon for your never roaſting any. Sir, you never roaſt any, becauſe you have got no fire."

Boſwell ſaid, "A man is reckoned a wiſe man, rather for what he does not ſay, than for what he ſays; perhaps upon the whole, Limbertongue ſpeaks a greater quantity of good ſenſe than Manly does; but Limbertongue gives you ſuch floods of frivolous nonſenſe, that his ſenſe is quite drowned. Manly gives you unmixed good ſenſe only. Manly will always be thought the wiſeſt man of the two."

Boſwell ſaid, that "Men of lively fancies ſeldom tell a ſtory ſo diſtinctly as thoſe of ſlower

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capacity, as they confound the intellect with an exceſs of brilliancy. It is a common expreſſion, I cannot ſee for the light; it may alſo be ſaid, I cannot underſtand you, you ſhine ſo much."

A forward fellow aſked Boſwell one day the character of a certain General officer. "Sir," ſaid Boſwell, "the gentleman is a General, and I do not chooſe to enter into particulars."

When Boſwell was at Leyden, in the year 1764, the Hon^ble^ Charles Gordon ſaid to him with an affected diffidence, in order to receive a compliment; "Mr. Boſwell, I would willingly come and ſee you for a day at Utrecht, but I am afraid I ſhould tire you." "Sir," replied Boſwell, "I defy you to tire me for one day."

Boſwell ſaid, "When we ſee a man of eminence, we deſire nothing more than to be of his acquaintance. We then wiſh to have him as a companion, and when we have attained to that, we are impatient till we gain a ſuperiority over him: ſuch is the reſtleſs progreſs of man."

Boſwell ſaid, that "To be a good rural poet, a man muſt have an appetite for the beauties of Nature, as another has for his dinner. A man who has a poor ſtomach will never talk with force of a good dinner, nor will he, whoſe

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taſte is feeble, talk with force of a fine proſpect. This kind of taſte muſt be felt, and cannot even be imagined by others."

Boſwell ſaid, that "A dull fool was nothing, that he never ſhewed himſelf: the great thing," ſaid he, "is to have your fool well furniſhed with animal ſpirits and conceit, and he will diſplay to you a rich fund of riſibility." He ſaid this at a certain Court in Germany.

Boſwell aſked, "Why have we not a neat phraſe to expreſs our being eager to ſee, equivalent to 'I pricked up my ears,' when eager to hear?"

At the Court of Saxe Gotha there were two ladies of honour, Meſdemoiſelles de Rickſlepen (?) very pretty, but very little. Boſwell ſaid to a Baron of the Court, "Monſieur, il faut les prendre comme des Alouettes, par la demie douzaine."

When Boſwell came to Turin, he was recommended to Madame la Comteſſe de St. Gilles, who kept a kind of open houſe every afternoon. She was old and envious, and ſpoke ill of every body, with a rude livelineſs. Boſwell ſaid, "Elle tient maiſon ouverte, et elle a juſtement l'eſprit d'un aubergiſte. Je paſſe la nuit à la bonne femme, et je paſſe le jour à la vieille femme."

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Boſwell ſaid, that "Berkeley reaſoned himſelf out of houſe and home."

When Boſwell came firſt into Italy, and ſaw the extreme profligacy of the ladies, he ſaid, "Italy has been called the Garden of Europe; I think it is the Covent Garden."

I have obſerved that buſineſs has a different effect on the ſpirits of different men; it ſinks the ſpirits of ſome, and raiſes the ſpirits of others. To ſome a variety of affairs are like ſtones put into a pool of water, which makes the water to riſe in proportion to the quantity of ſtones. To others *des affaires* are like ſponges put into a pool of water, which ſuck it up. Men of great firmneſs can retain their vivacity amidſt a multiplicity of buſineſs. The King of Pruſſia is a diſtinguiſhed example.

In talking of Dr. Armſtrong's exceſſive indolence to Andrew Erſkine, I uſed this ſtrong figure: "He is ſometimes ſo idle that his ſoul cannot turn itſelf in its bed."

A collection of *bon mots* or lively ſallies, which have appeared in law papers before the Court of Seſſion, without being expunged, would be like the pictures preſerved in Herculaneum, or like mirrors ſaved out of the ruins of Liſbon after the earthquake.

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It is a good thing for Scotland that we can appeal to the Houſe of Lords. I look upon that Court as a great rolling-ſtone, which, by going over a cauſe, effectually ſmooths it at once; when our fifteen lords, who have been breaking the clods with their mallets for a long time, may have left ſome parts rough, or ſometimes may have found large maſſes which they may not have been able to break at all. The rolling-ſtone can never do harm: if the cauſe is ſmooth, it will make it more firmly ſo; if rough in whole, or in part, it will ſmooth it.

I have obſerved that the Lords of Juſticiary, in Scotland, though they proceed with ſtrong common ſenſe, and in general with material juſtice, yet have not ſtudied criminal laws as a ſcience, though it is a very extenſive, important, and nice one. Being Lords of Seſſion, their attention is chiefly taken up with civil affairs, and they take criminal matters only by the bye; they are like barber-ſurgeons, who ſhave, and bleed upon occaſions.

I ſaid the Court of Seſſion was much more quiet and agreeable when Preſident Dundas was abſent. "When he is there," ſaid I, "you feel yourſelf as in a bleach-field, with a large dog in it; he is chained and does not bite you, but he barks wow-wow, and makes you ſtart; your nerves are hurt by it."

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I ſaid in a diſpute with Sir Alexander Dick, on the different eſtimation to be put on ſons and daughters, that "Sons are truly part of a family; daughters go into other families. Sons are the furniture of your houſe; daughters are furniture in your houſe for ſale. No man would wiſh to have his daughters fixtures; ſuch of them as are well-looked are like certain marked pictures at the exhibition."

There are a variety of little circumſtances in life which, like pins in a lady's dreſs, are neceſſary for keeping it together, and giving it neatneſs and elegance.

Mr. Alexander Lockhart, being of the faculty of Advocates, very readily ſhed tears when he pleaded; whether from feeling, or from a weakneſs in his eyes, was diſputed. He was alſo very fond of taking his fees. I applied to him a paſſage in Shakeſpeare: "He hath a tear for pity, and a hand open as day to melting charity."

Swift ſays, "No man keeps me at a diſtance, but he keeps himſelf at as great a diſtance from me." This has the appearance as if the man of dignity ſuffered ſomething, whereas it is juſt what he wiſhes; he wiſhes to be at a diſtance from vulgar and diſagreeable people.

The beautiful Lady Wallace ſaid in a com-

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pany, that " ſhe had had a dream that ſhe could only tell to one gentleman at a time." She had told it to Mr. Croſby, whom I ſaid ſhe muſt take for a Joſeph, to tell her dreams to.

The converſation having turned on Andrew Stewart's artful defence of the treacherous conduct of his brother to Lord Pigott; I ſaid, " He has laid on a thick colouring upon his brother's character; it would not clean,—he has died it."

In London you have an inexhauſtible variety of company to enjoy with ſuperficial pleaſures, and out of theſe you may always have a few choſen friends for intimate cordiality. While you have a wide lake to ſport in, you may have a ſtew-pond to fatten; cheriſhing to high friendſhip, affection, and love, by feeding with attention and kindneſs. One muſt have a friend, a wife, and a miſtreſs, much in private; muſt dwell upon them, if that phraſe may be uſed; muſt, by reiterated habits of regard, feel the particular ſatisfaction of intimacy. There muſt be many coats of the colour to make a body ſubſtantial enough to laſt; for the colour of ordinary agreeable acquaintance is ſo ſlight, that every feather can bruſh it off. We ſhould be very careful in chooſing for the ſtew-pond. Horace, " *Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam reſpice.*" Such a recommendation is uſeful to

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put us on our guard, to preſerve our character for diſcernment. It is as much ſo to make us preſerve our own comfort in freindſhip. London, April, 1778.

If you wiſh to be very happy with your freind, or wife, or miſtreſs, be with them in London or Bath, or ſome place where you are both enjoying pleaſure; not in the country, where there is dullneſs and wearineſs. You may perhaps bear up your ſpirits even in dreary cold darkneſs in their company, but it is too ſevere a trial to make the experiment.

It is not giving them fair play. Be with them in the ſunſhine; let mutual gladneſs beam upon your hearts, and let the ideas of pleaſure be aſſociated with the ideas of your being together. If pity be akin to love, it is to melancholy love. Joy is the fond relation of delightful love, of the ſweet paſſion. London, April and May, 1778.

I ſaid of a rich man who entertained us luxurioufly, that "although he was exceedingly ridiculous, we reſtrained ourſelves from talking of him as we might do, leſt we ſhould loſe his feaſts." Said I, "He makes our teeth ſentinels on our tongues."

I ſaid that a drunken fellow was not honeſt. "A ſtick," ſaid I, "kept always moiſt, becomes rotten."

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If a man entertains his company himſelf, it is a great fatigue; it is blowing a fire with his own breath. Whoever can afford it ſhould have a led-captain of ſtrong animal ſpirits, who, like perpetual bellows, may keep up the ſocial flame.

The King cannot give [office] to Langton becauſe he is not in the political ſphere: he cannot take a handful of gold upon the faro-table, and give it to any man, however worthy, who is only looking on or ſtalking round the room. Let him play, let him punt, and take his chance. The King is but the marker of the great billiard-table of the ſtate. He can mark a man three, four, five, according to his play; and, if he goes off the table, into oppoſition, can rub out the chalk.

Talking of the great men whom the Reſiſtance or Rebellion in America had produced, Dempſter ſaid, "It coſts a good deal to raiſe heroes; they muſt be raiſed in a hot-bed." "Yes," ſaid I, "theſe have coſt a good deal of bark of royal oak, and a good deal of dung too." London, 23rd April, 1779.

Boſwell and John Home met with a man in their walk one morning, who ſaid he was aged 103. "What a ſtupid fellow," ſaid Boſwell, "muſt that be, who has lived ſo long."

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David C. has no ſenſe, it is all diſtilled into ſpirit.

I ſaid Suard had a feeble venom—ſpit, ſpit, ſpit.

The difference between an ancient family [and a modern one] is ſometimes not viſible. Above the ground the tree may be the ſame; the ancient has only deeper roots, which only antiquarian diggers obſerve; yet from the deep roots there are plants of a more ſtately air, ſo that in general it appears different even in the ſtem and branches; ſometimes, indeed, by rich and happy culture, the new one would look almoſt as well.

The arſenick ſophiſtry of Gibbon, ſweet and poiſonous.

Aſparagus is like gentility; it cannot be brought to table till ſeveral generations from the dung-hill.

In a book of ſcience or information, one may, when an elevated thought occurs, ſtand on tiptoe, but not riſe from the ground. I made this remark to Mr. Lumſden, while reading a paſſage of higher tone in his Account of Rome. It will alſo apply to Sir John Pringle's Diſcourſes before the Royal Society.

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The minds of ſome men are like a dark cellar, where their knowledge lies concealed; while the minds of others are all ſunſhine and mirror, and reflect all that they read or hear in a lively manner.

To account for the common remark, that the more a man advances in knowledge the leſs he ſeems to himſelf to know; Mr. Burke ſaid, that "in what is in itſelf infinite, there is a larger circle without the firſt, and a larger without the ſecond, and ſo on." Hang Mr. Burke.

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